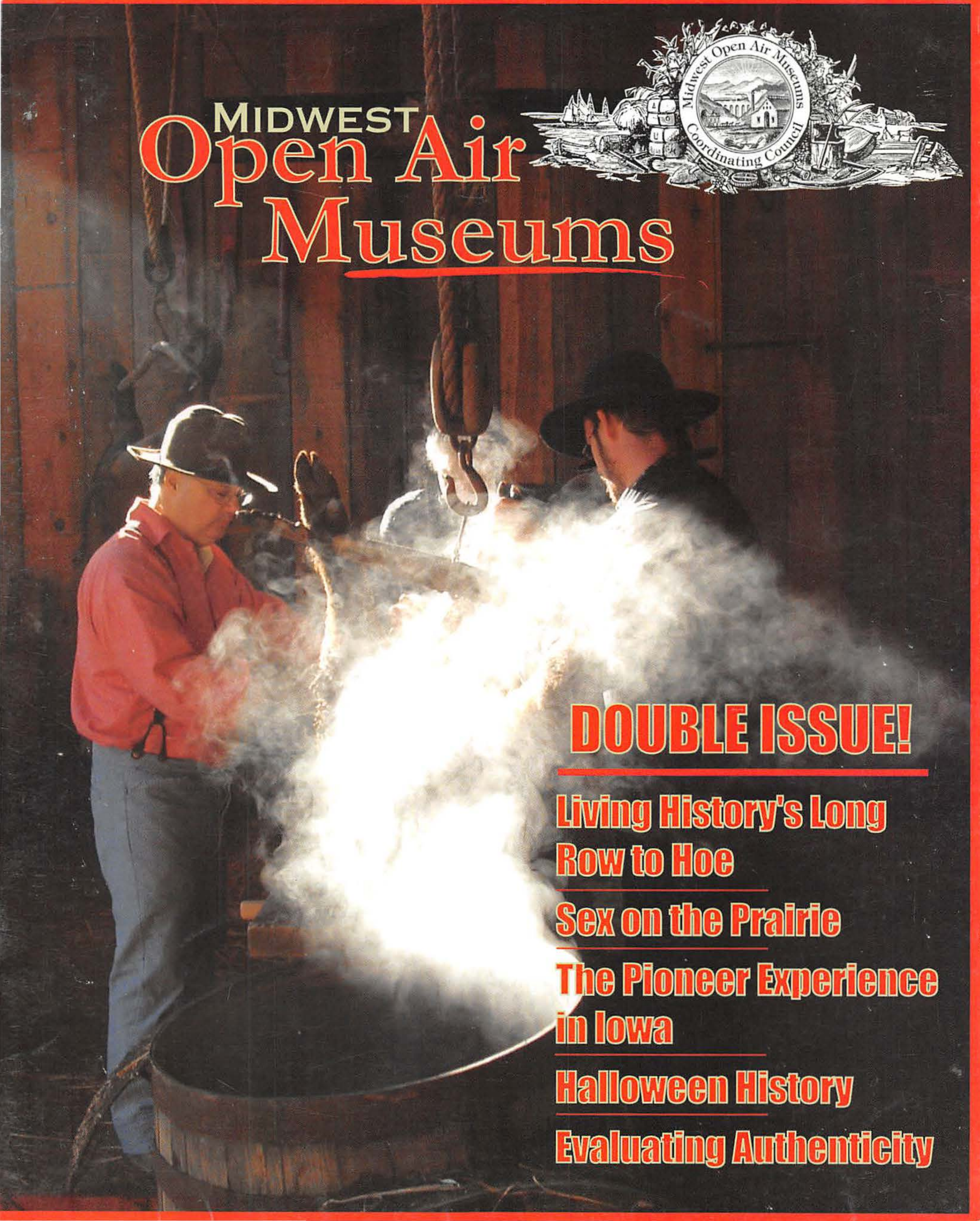
FFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE MIDWEST OPEN AIR MUSEUMS COORDINATING COUNCIL
2004 Vol. XXV, no. 2 & 3 ISSN 1536-3279

MIDWEST Open Air Museums



DOUBLE ISSUE!

Living History's Long Row to Hoe

Sex on the Prairie

The Pioneer Experience in Iowa

Halloween History

Evaluating Authenticity

MOMCC 2005 Spring Conference

March 17-19, 2005
Wooster, Ohio
The Wayne County Historical Society

PLAIN LIVING IN HECTIC TIMES!

The MOMCC Spring Conference will be held March 17-19, 2005 at the Arden Shisler Center in Wooster, Ohio. Hosted by the Wayne County Historical Society, the theme of the conference is "Plain Living In Hectic Times."

With the hustle and bustle of 21st century everyday life, more people are discovering the virtues of plain living. Living history sites can appear to be an oasis in the midst of hectic modern life. Come to an area known for its plain living to learn how this modern day plain living compares and contrasts to the history at your site.

Conference sessions and workshops include: period brewing, multiple horse hitches, interpreting religious groups at your site, and courtship. On Thursday night, there will also be a train excursion followed by a social and our spring auction.

MOMCC is the Midwest Regional Organization associated with ALHFAM, the Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums. and is made up of professionals dedicated to interpretation, education, curation and administration in the field of living history. These individuals support the sharing of new ideas and information with a focus on authenticity. As an organization MOMCC works to promote excellence and to provide a forum for the interchange of methods, information, ideas and the consideration of professional issues within the open air, interactive and historical museum fields and welcomes all who share the same interests.

For More Information or for registration materials, please contact:

Rick Musselman, Education Supervisor
Carriage Hill MetroPark Farm
7800 E. Shull Rd.
Dayton, Ohio
45424
Ph: (937)278-2609
Fax: (937)879-8904

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MIDWEST Open Air Museums

Editorial Staff

Editor-In-Chief
Christopher D. Gordy
Stephenson County Museum
Freeport, IL

Senior Editors
Susan Nordmeyer Gordy
Apple River Fort State Historic Site
Elizabeth, Illinois

Ericka Mason
Conner Prairie
Fishers, Indiana

Terri Reynolds
Ella Sharp Museum
Jackson, Michigan

Rob Martin
Conner Prairie
Fishers, Indiana

Graphic Art & Layout
Peter M. Noll
Volkening Heritage Farm
Schaumburg, Illinois

Editorial Office
Unless otherwise directed within a specific feature or column, address magazine correspondence and article submissions to:

Midwest Open Air Museums Magazine
497 Jackson St.
Galena, Illinois 61036
FAX: 815-858-2268
Email: chrissue@galenalink.net

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Debra A. Reid
Assistant Professor, Dept. of History
Eastern Illinois University
600 Lincoln Ave
Charleston, IL 61920

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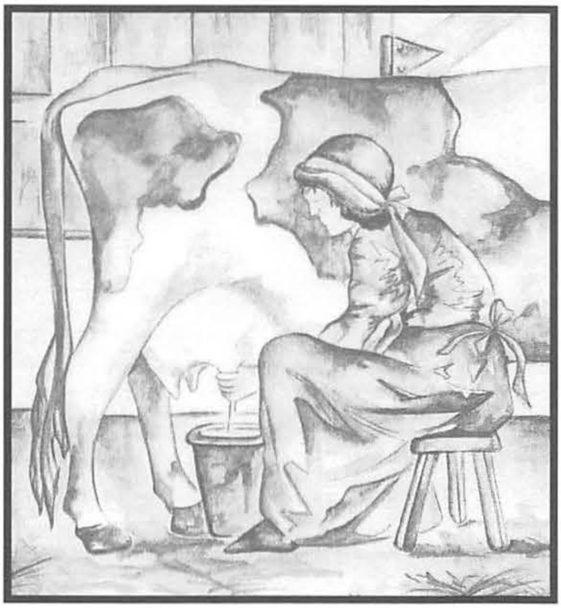
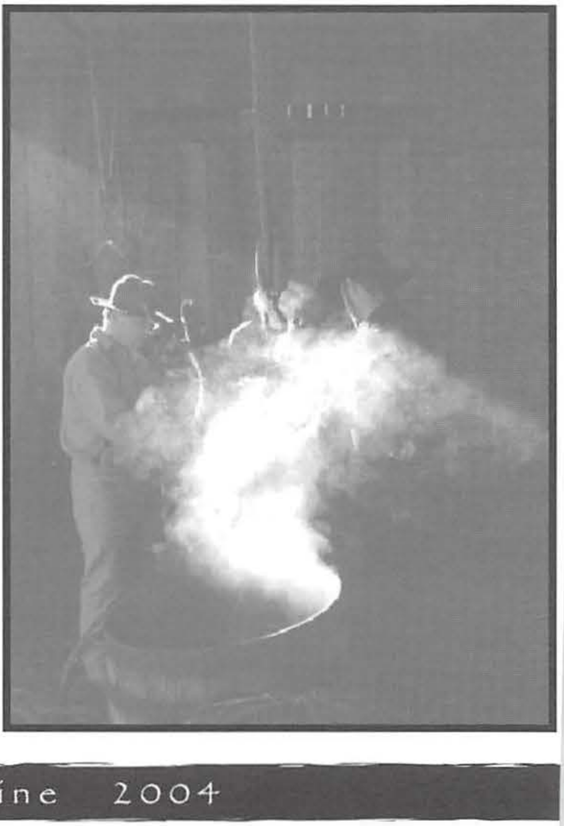
About the cover:
Volunteers and staff at Volkening Heritage Farm at Spring Valley, Schaumburg, IL scald hogs as part of their annual butchering event, *Hoghouse to Smokehouse.*

Photograph by Peter Noll



On the back cover:
Original artwork by Julie Baran-Reilly, as it appeared on promotional material for 2003 Wagner Farm Dairy Breakfast.



President's Perspective

- Carol Smith

Yikes, 25 years! How'd we do it?

In this society that prefers throwing-away rather than repairing and replacing rather than mending; how much lasts for 25 years? Cars, clothing, appliances, businesses, relationships, and even ideas seem to wear out, lose their popularity, or just disappear. I don't have the answer as to why this is so, but I have learned that anything worth holding onto and keeping needs hard work, nurturing, and care.

The field of living history is still considered a fairly new concept by many folks and yet it has grown and matured quickly in its short life span. Many of those who were the directors and staff of living history sites are still working in the trenches and can look back and see the road they have traveled and the changes that have occurred. Like most ideas and organizations, the past is covered with ups and downs and it's hard sometimes to tell where you are on that scale at any given moment.

We MOMCCers have a great reason to celebrate. We have made it through our first 25 years, truly, a milestone marker. It is fitting that we pause and look back at our past so that we can assess where we want to go for the future. So how did we do?

Twenty-five years ago, MOMCC was organized to support this new emerging profession and the people who were working in it. Its purpose was to promote excellence and to provide a forum for the exchange of materials, information, ideas and consideration of professional issues within the field. We still hold that mission today.

I'd like to list some of the things that come to my mind that the organization has accomplished over the 25 years.

We currently have a membership of about 475 individuals, families, and organizations. ✯ We have gone from a newsletter to a quality magazine containing articles covering areas such as collections care, interpretation, leadership, special events, educational programs. etc. ✯ We have an excellent Website, www.momcc.org, with an active message board, links to all our member organizations, conference information and registration. ✯ We have 2 conferences per year (there are very few organizations that do that!) filled with outstanding workshops, presentations, keynotes, visits to host sites, and other local museums. ✯We have 8 active resource (special interest) groups that meet during the conferences – agriculture, seeds & gardens, interpretation, material culture, artisans, clothing, foodways, and leadership. ✯ Membership dues have only been increased twice during the 25 years due to good fiscal management. ✯We offer a full scholarship to the ALHFAM conference. ✯ We have started the Candice Matelic Award to encourage written articles for publication in the field of living history. ✯ As of the November 2004 conference, the 25th Anniversary Endowment Fund has been started with a generous matching offer.

And most important we have an active membership that volunteers time and energy to serve on the Board of Directors, edits and/or writes articles for the magazine, leads resource groups, works on task forces, hosts conferences, develops conference programs, presents conference sessions and workshops, and on and on.

Why have members done these things? I believe that it takes special people to work in this field. People who care about people, whether it's other staff, visitors, or the public in general. People who care about the truth and are passionate about what they believe. MOMCC members are these people! Because of these things we are willing to work hard and be flexible to get things done. So, when a group of these folks get together – look out! That same passion becomes a force to be reckoned with.

Our conferences are just one venue where this happens. We come to learn new information, consider new ideas, and network with others. We know that here it is safe to crow and cry about our successes and failures because we know that others will understand and either cheer or commiserate with us. And finally we come to feel supported and renewed to go back into the field. At the end of conferences the mood is so positive you can see it. New friends have been made, past friends have been caught up with, and new ideas and thoughts abound. We have been energized to return to our jobs.

It is this same passion and caring that has led and leads members today to offer their time, skills, and talents so this organization can grow, remain relevant, and continue to meet those same needs for those still to come into the field. What a wonderful legacy our first 25 years has given us. I can hardly wait to see what happens in the next 25 years. With members like you, I know it will be great!

Congratulations on 25 successful years! - Carol Smith

The Editorium

You have probably noticed that the current MOMCC Magazine you are holding in your hand is a little larger than usual. This issue is actually twice the size of our normal sized magazine and has twice the amount of useful information for your site. The reason for this large issue is to catch us up with the year's publications so that we can start a new year being on track. Though this issue is a little more beefy than usual, you'll have more to love within the pages.

On another note, the Editorial Staff is going through changes this winter. The new Editor In Chief of the MOMCC Magazine is Pete Noll. Pete is currently working at the Volkening Heritage Farm, Schaumburg, Illinois, and has been our graphic designer and layout person for the past year. With new leaders come new changes, which I know will only enhance the magazine and help make it an even better publication to keep in your own home or your site's library.

As I leave the seat of Editor In Chief I will say thank you to all of the editor's that have worked with me for the past few years: Susan Nordmeyer Gordy, Ann Cejka, Robert Reeder, Ericka Mason, Terri Reynolds, Scott Cross, Deb Reid, Pete Noll and Rob Martin. Through the help of these great volunteers and MOMCC members, we have always been able to have the quality publication our membership has come to expect. Many of us are continuing our work with the magazine and are looking forward to the leadership and direction of our new Editor In Chief. Congratulations Pete Noll and here's to a bright future with MOMCC.

I've always put in a plug to all advertisers and future authors in this section, and this issue isn't any different. Advertisers, thank you for your support of this great publication. Authors, thank you for graciously sharing your knowledge with all of us. However, to all of you who have thought about advertising and/or publishing articles in the magazine, you will be receiving more solicitations in the future. Your knowledge is still needed out there to help enhance our programming, interpretation, administration, collections departments, gardens, fields, livestock . . . you get the idea. You'll be hearing from us!

To polish off my last "Editorium", I hope that everyone out there has a great Holiday Season and that you all are looking forward to another great year at your site.

A note from the future Editor In Chief:

Reports of Chris Gordy's demise have been greatly exaggerated. Chris and his talented wife Sue (who has worked as hard as anyone on the Magazine) have agreed to stay on as members of the Editorial Team. Their experience and guidance have been, and will continue to be, invaluable. Although there will be changes in upcoming issues, the transition will be smooth and seamless due to the efforts of the entire Editorial Team.

If, at some future conference, you happen to find yourself in close proximity to either of the Gordys, please give them a hug and a thanks for all the hard work they have contributed (and had better continue to contribute) to the MOMCC Magazine and organization.

Well then, enough of this sentimental slop...Start turning pages and enjoy the DOUBLE ISSUE!

ALHFAM 2005

CONFERENCE FELLOWSHIPS

LIVING HISTORY FARMS

Do you need financial aid to attend the Annual Meeting in Des Moines, Iowa? If you are a 1st, 2nd or 3rd time attendee, you or your institution are a member of ALHFAM, and you have not received a fellowship in previous years, you are eligible to apply for a fellowship. In 2005 fellowships will cover conference registration and a stipend of $85.00 towards the cost of accommodation from Sunday night to Friday morning. Recipients are required to submit an article for publication in the ALHFAM Bulletin or submit a paper to the Proceedings during the next year. Applicants who have been accepted to present a paper at the meeting are especially encouraged to apply.

To apply, please mail or e-mail one copy of your application, to each of the addresses below (Leo, Gwen, and Michelle). Your application must include:

1 *Cover letter stating why you wish to attend the meeting, how you intend to contribute to ALHFAM, explanation of financial need, indication of ALHFAM membership status, how many annual and regional meetings you have attended (none, one or two), contributions to the organization, membership in a professional interest group. Please limit this to one page.*

2 *Résumé must include 2 references and be limited to two pages.*

3 *Abstract of article you would submit to the ALHFAM Bulletin or Proposal for Presentation at Annual Conference, 100 words maximum.*

4 *A failure to adhere to any of these guidelines will mean that your application will be disqualified.*

Applications will be marked on the following criteria:

1 *Past participation in ALHFAM, its regional groups and potential for future contribution*
2 *Participation in living history or agricultural museums*
3 *Rationale for attending annual meeting*
4 *Quality of abstract*
5 *Financial need*
6 *Presentation of application*
7 *Presenter at 2005 meeting*

Applications must be mailed, or e-mailed, to each one (all) of the following addresses:

When e-mailing your proposal, please use the subject line "ALHFAM 2005 Fellowship."
Deadline for application: 15 April 2005. Applications received after this date will not be considered.
Good luck!

Leo Landis
ALHFAM Fellowship Committee
Chair
Living History Farms
2600 NW 111th St.
Urbandale, IA 50322
landis@tir.com

Gwen Miner
ALHFAM Fellowship Committee
The Farmers' Museum
PO Box 30 Lake Rd.
Cooperstown, NY 13326
minerg@nysha.org

Michelle Dondo-Tardiff ALHFAM
Fellowship Committee
Canada Agriculture Museum
P.O. Box 9724, Station TOttawa, ON
K1G 5A3Canada
mdondo-tardiff@technomuses.ca

YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN...

Social order at the expense of liberty is hardly a bargain.
Marquis de Sade

The cheapest and easiest way to become an influential man and be looked up to by the community at large, was to stand behind a bar, wear a cluster-diamond pin, and sell whiskey.

Mark Twain

IN THE DEPTH OF WINTER, I FINALLY LEARNED THAT WITHIN ME THERE LAY AN INVINCIBLE SUMMER.
ALBERT CAMUS
FRENCH EXISTENTIALIST AUTHOR & PHILOSOPHER (1913 - 1960)

Only two things are infinite, the universe and human stupidity, and I'm not sure about the former. Albert Einstein
US (German-born) physicist (1879 - 1955)

A healthy male adult bore consumes each year one and a half times his own weight in other people's patience.
John Updike, Assorted Prose (1965)
US author (1932 -)

Quotation, n: The act of repeating erroneously the words of another.
Ambrose Bierce, The Devil's Dictionary
US author & satirist (1842 - 1914)

Love isn't a decision. It's a feeling. If we could decide who we loved, it would be much simplier, but much less magical.
Trey Parker and Matt Stone, South Park, Chef Aid, 1998

I believe that every human has a finite number of heart-beats. I don't intend to waste any of mine running around doing exercises.
Neil Armstrong
US astronaut (1930 -)

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE TO THE DEAD, THE ORPHANS AND THE HOMELESS, WHETHER THE MAD DESTRUCTION IS WROUGHT UNDER THE NAME OF TOTALITARIANISM OR THE HOLY NAME OF LIBERTY OR DEMOCRACY?

MAHATMA GANDHI, "NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR," INDIAN ASCETIC & NATIONALIST LEADER (1869 - 1948)

A positive attitude may not solve all your problems, but it will annoy enough people to make it worth the effort.
Herm Albright (1876 - 1944)

Always do sober what you said you'd do drunk. That will teach you to keep your mouth shut.
Ernest Hemingway
US author & journalist (1899 - 1961)

The MOMCC Leadership Resource Group

Wants

YOU

to contribute your favorite resources on Museum Administration, Management and Leadership.

If you have a favorite book, periodical, video, website, etc. that is a resource for helping you in a leadership role at your museum or historic site, and you would like to share with others, then please let us know and we will make sure it is added to the MOMCC Leadership Resource Group's "Museum and Historic Site Leadership Resource List."

If you would like to contribute or have questions, please contact Rob Burg, chair of the Leadership Resource Group at burgr@michigan.gov or by phone at (989) 348-2537.

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The History Department at Eastern Illinois University is now accepting applications for admission into the Master of Arts in Historical Administration Program.

The Historical Administration Program has been serving the profession with distinction since 1975 by preparing graduate students academically and technically for careers in history museums and historical agencies. Students are introduced to the problems, philosophies, ethics, and techniques of preserving, interpreting, and administering historical sites and collections.

The curriculum combines the research orientation of a traditional cultural history program with an interdisciplinary approach to material culture studies and includes a variety of hands-on experiences. The on-campus year is followed by a six-month internship in an established institution.

The application deadline for those seeking admission for the 2005-2006 academic year is February 1st.

Applications may be obtained from:

Coordinator, M.A. in Historical Administration Program
History Department
Eastern Illinois University
600 Lincoln Avenue
Charleston, Illinois 61920-3099
Phone: 217-581-3310
E-mail: csdsn@eiu.edu
Fax: 217-581-7233
Web site: www.eiu.edu/~history

If you missed conferences in 2004

Conner Prairie - Spring

Rob Stone weaving (on a jet plane?)

Katherine Musselman poses for the camera with two hairy beasts.

Winners of "Best American Gothic"

Is that an ash tray?

Rob Burg - He's a lumberjack and he's O.K.

...you missed a lot.

Heritage Hill - Fall

A well armed Packer fan... not at all uncommon during deer season.

Two guys, two beards, two diet sodas, and one sewing workshop.

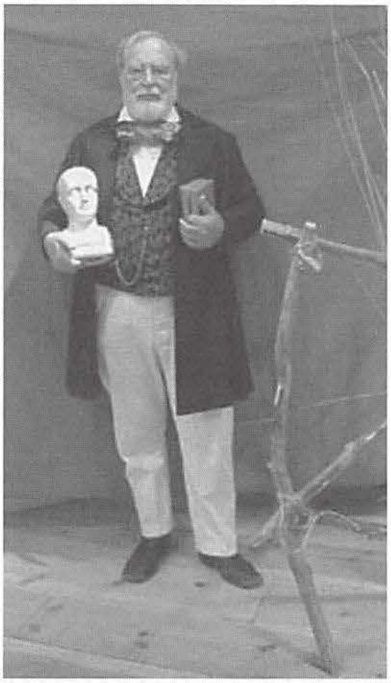
Grain Bin of Knowledge

We can't say for sure what Rick Finch is saying here, but we bet it was really interesting.

Candace Tangorra Matelic delivers the keynote address.

How does attending a conference make you feel?

Don't Forget the Spring Conference in Wooster Ohio - March 17-19, 2005



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Interpreting and Demonstrating Practical Phrenology, one of the great fads of 19th Century American Popular Culture. Let Professor Phineas Fairhead entertain and educate your visitors at your next event or program. for more information, prices, and bookings, contact:

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2100 W. William
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(217) 431-1922 phineasfairhead@cs.com

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The Cherry Valley Group congratulates MOMCC on its 25th Anniversary!

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Engaging the Public: Planning, Patience and the "Power of Place"

by Steve Leonard

As employees of historic sites, most of us work with historical ideas and concepts every day. We strive to present these ideas and concepts into informative and understandable formats. We develop programming as a vehicle to convey accurate historical messages and information to the public. These programs support and reinforce the staff's ability to explain the historical themes of the site. Interpretive programming may take various forms—living history, first person interpretation, tours, exhibits, brochures, etc. Depending on the site, it may take any combination of the above or it may involve only one or two of these formats.

Engaging the Public

While every site is different, each has its own specific historical story or stories to tell. Moreover, each shares the same goal of providing the public a worthwhile reason for stopping by. The term "power of place" may sound like an over-used cliché to some, but it is at the heart of all historic site interpretation. Most visitors want to connect in some way to the place. They want to come away from the place having learned or experienced something positive and worthwhile. More specifically they want to gain more knowledge or understanding about the place, the person or people, or the event which transpired there.

How we engage the public with this story, determines whether we succeed or fail. Will the visitor have a better appreciation of the place? Will he or she bring friends or relatives on a return visit to the site? Will the visitor want to read more about the related history concerning the site? Become a volunteer? If we can answer yes to any of these questions, then our interpretive programming is a success. It is unreasonable to expect every site visitor to connect with the place. However, the historic site should provide an atmosphere conducive to the exchange of information and an environment for learning. If the interpretive components contain an element of fun and entertainment, it can only heighten the visitor's experience.

Planning Interpretive Programming

Effectively engaging the public in our interpretive programming is not achieved by a random throw of the proverbial dice. Good, creative planning, design and research are essential in maximizing a site's and site staff's interpretive potential. These things take time. Patience and persistence on the part of the staff is necessary. There is always the element of trial and error. What works at one site may not work somewhere else.

Three simple, but crucial, questions need to be addressed before planning or developing any interpretive program. These questions are inherent in any interpretive process and once answered, they will provide the necessary parameters for developing successful interpretive programs.

Question 1: *What do you want to say?*

Assemble a planning team to determine an organizing principle or mission statement. Write down a sentence or two explaining the purpose of the interpretive project. This provides the planning team with an interpretive synopsis. From this they can establish guidelines for achieving the stated goals and set limits to the entire project. This exercise requires the planning team to stay focused on the organizing principle and to develop the interpretive project within the context of the mission statement.

Question 2: *How do you want to say it?*

What type of vehicle will carry the interpretive program? This question requires the planners to determine the best format to convey the historical information to the public. How can the story best be told? Can the historical material be presented in the form of a first person dialogue? Or does an exhibit provide the necessary framework for the successful transfer of information? The planning team must decide which interpretive format will best present the historical content to the public in an understandable, creative and enjoyable manner.

Question 3: *Who do you want to say it to?*

The planning team must consider their projected audience. In other words who is this formatted information for? Successful interpretive planning involves a keen understanding of the public. Determining what engages the public is not an easy task. First we need to know the public we are trying to engage. Who are they? Where do they come from? What are they looking for? What are their preconceived ideas about the site? If we can better understand our public, we can provide them a more imaginative and understandable interpretive message. In doing so, we can tailor our programming to the public and accurately anticipate their perspectives and, in some instances, correct their misconceptions.

Some of this information can be obtained by simply conversing with the visitors. Ask questions and take notes. An informal visitor survey is an important information gathering tool. Over time, this data will help determine an accurate profile of your visiting public. Another simple exercise involves writing down the ten most asked questions about your site. Regardless of how trivial or insignificant this may seem, it provides a good insight into your public's mindset while visiting your site. Use all this information as guide posts when developing historical and interpretive planning. Always keep the public (your public) in mind when developing interpretive programming.

Power of Place

For the most part, we serve a sophisticated public. One well versed in the latest electronic gadgetry. Interactive computer software and games provide instantaneous gratification at the click of a button. We live in an experience economy. We cannot compete with Disneyland special effects; nor should we try. However, we should be aware of this phenomenon when developing interpretive programming. This should challenge us to develop creative and varied interpretive vehicles to carry the story and convey the message in an entertaining and informative manner.

The cultural and historical significance inherent in our sites transcends the fantasy of Disneyland. We have the opportunity to present real facts and real artifacts to people. The power of place is a powerful draw. The place represents a shared human experience. The visiting public in varying degrees wants to engage with the story. They seek knowledge and information that, in many cases, only we can provide. How we format historical ideas and concepts into interpretive programming that is both informative and engaging is our challenge and our job. Careful planning can lead to a solution.

Steve Leonard is the Exhibit Designer for the Historic Sites division of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. This article previously appeared in *Interpret Illinois*, the newsletter of the Historic Sites Division of IHPA.

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CALL FOR PAPERS ~~ SUBMISSION DEADLINE FEBRUARY 15, 2005

2005 Agricultural History Society Symposium

Art & Agriculture

Material Expressions of Rural People & Their Lifeways

June 2, 3, 4, 2005
Dearborn, Michigan

Sponsored by: The Benson Ford Research Center

Conference Hotel: Best Western Greenfield Inn, Dearborn, Michigan (off of I-94 at Oakwood Blvd)

Conference Venue: The Henry Ford
(Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village & The Benson Ford Research Center)

Objects reflect the values and beliefs of those who make and use them. Objects also reflect bigger cultural parameters that dictate adoption, use and abandonment. Do rural and agricultural products have a "look" about them? Do they convey distinctive meanings? What if any special meanings do artists seek to convey through their depictions of rural and agricultural topics? Some scholars have identified as "rural plain" an aesthetic that adapted design motifs rather than adopting high style characteristics. Others have argued that mass-production homogenized material culture and undermined rural distinctiveness. Yet, artists and craftsmen have capitalized on popular perceptions of rural life and continue to do so.

The 2005 Agricultural History Society Symposium will explore the meaning of material culture broadly defined to include that produced by and about rural and agricultural people and their lifeways. Paper topics can run the gamut from an analysis of reaping hooks or scythes as the products of individual craftsmen to critical studies of artists' renderings, photographs or moving images of farmhouses and barnyards. What creates distinctiveness – topography, soil quality, crop choice, cultural factors such as ethnicity, religion and/or race? How does gender affect rural material expression? What aspect of rural life does an artist choose to depict? The AHS Program Selection Committee welcomes papers on these and any topic related to the material culture of or about rural life and agriculture.

The conference will take place at The Henry Ford which contains premiere collections in agriculture, rural life, domestic arts, and technology and science. Formal paper presentations as well as workshops and hands-on sessions featuring artifacts and material culture can be accommodated, and creative formats are encouraged. Session and workshop proposals should include a 150 word abstract, a brief vita or biographical statement, and a list of presenters in the case of a formal panel. Electronic submissions are preferred.

Please direct questions about the program as well as complete proposals to the program chair, Debra A. Reid. Contact Leo Landis about local arrangements details including the extent of The Henry Ford collections which might support session or workshop topics.

Program Chair:
Debra Reid
Associate Professor - History
Eastern Illinois University
600 Lincoln Ave.
Charleston, IL 61920
cfdar2@eiu.edu
Phone: 217-581-7272
Fax: 217-581-7233

Local Arrangements:
Leo Landis
Curator of Agriculture
The Henry Ford
20900 Oakwood Blvd.
Dearborn, MI 48124-4088
LeoL@TheHenryFord.org
Phone: 313-982-6085
Fax: 313.982.6221

CAACW

Conference on African Americans
and the Civil War
May 26-28, 2005 Petersburg, VA

CALL FOR PAPERS & PRESENTERS

CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE CIVIL WAR

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA
MAY 26-28, 2005

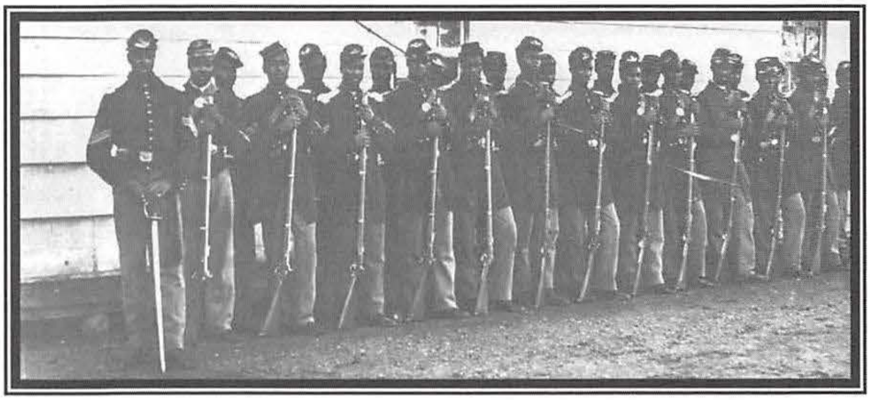
The Conference on African Americans and the Civil War (CAACW) invites scholars, historians, and those interested in the African American experience in the Civil War to submit presentation proposals for its meeting in May 2005. The CAACW is seeking presentations that examine, evaluate, and define the role of African Americans before, during, and after the Civil War; discuss ancillary issues regarding African Americans and the sectional crisis; and facilitate an interdisciplinary discussion of the historical threads that connect the Civil War to today, especially for African Americans.

FOR PAPERS: Both individual and panel submissions are welcome. Please submit a cover letter, curriculum vita, and one-page prospectus in either written or electronic form by February 28th to address below:

FOR PRESENTERS: Please submit a cover letter, resume, and one-page description of presentation in either written or electronic form by February 28th to:

Steven J. Ramold, Ph.D.
CAACW Program Coordinator
Department of History
Virginia State University
Petersburg, VA 23806
sramold@vsu.edu

Look for updates on our website at caacw.org.



Courtesy of Library of Congress

Sex on the Prairie/Lust at the Corner: Sexuality in the 19th Century

Tim Crumrin
Associate Director for Research and Historian
Conner Prairie, Fishers, Indiana

Throughout history human sexuality has been alternately ignored, obfuscated, hidden, glorified, swept under the rug or lied about. That notwithstanding, sexuality is indeed a fact of history and one that cannot be ignored. As such, knowledge about the history of sexuality, if deployed properly, can play a subtle but important role in understanding characters and adding to well-rounded historical interpretation.

Why Sex?

Sex is a basic drive for the vast majority of humans. However, its enjoyment and "use" were often made more "palatable" by emphasizing its procreative "results" within marriage. In this view, held by many in the 18th & 19th centuries, intercourse was seen primarily as a vehicle to create life, not simply to be enjoyed for its inherent pleasures. Thus, sex outside marriage (the only proper state in which a child could be brought into the world) was wrong. Traditionally this had the double benefit of emphasizing the purpose of sex and "channeling" it into its proper place within marriage and, by encouraging marriage, stabilizing society. However, by the early 19th century the idea had grown that "marital love," not just procreation, justified sexual relations. Pleasure for pleasure's sake was thus becoming acceptable to many. [1]

Sexuality in Early America

America's settlers brought their attitudes regarding sex with them as part of their cultural baggage. These often conflicted with the moral worldview of those already here—Native Americans. Differing ideas about sexuality was one of the many misreadings of each other's cultures exhibited by both groups. To most Europeans, Native Americans were "pagans," wild creatures who bordered on the savage. This view extended to Indian sexual mores. Native American practices such as polygamy and sharing of wives with guests served as examples to Whites of why Indians needed to be brought (kicking and screaming if necessary) to religion and "civilization." [2]

Europeans often viewed Indian women as "wanton." They were seen as "lascivious" creatures who wore, to European eyes, conspicuously revealing clothing and who were much too eager to offer up their favors (later, this same image would be applied to Black women). A primary reason for this jaundiced view was that Native Americans seldom equated "nudity or sexuality with sin," as most settlers did. [3] To them they were just part of life, not hidden shameful things as they were to many Europeans.

The revealing clothing of Indian women often secretly delighted the eyes of Euro-American men, who decried such exhibitionism, but were nevertheless wont to gaze upon the female flesh exposed by wind or weather (Native women often went topless in the summer). [4] This doubtless contributed to the image of "friskiness" attributed to Indian woman, as did their bawdy humor, sexual openness and flirtatiousness. This view was further burnished by another phenomena exhibited in some cultures, the plucking of their pubic hair. This practice often shocked the sensibilities of Whites. So much so that Thomas Jefferson reported that many White traders demanded their Indian wives or consorts return to a more "natural" state. [5]

Another misunderstood (even today) feature of some Native American cultures was the berdache. The term (Arabic for a male sex slave) was applied to gender crossing sometimes exhibited in native cultures. Usually men who dressed as women, the berdache often flummoxed Whites whose cultural conceptions only recognized clear division between two genders. Berdache often dressed as women and assumed feminine roles. In some societies they were thought to have special connection with spiritual realms and were honored members of the tribe. Whites often saw them merely as transvestites and ridiculed them. [6]

Whites' dismay at Native American sexuality may be seen by some as further evidence of the "puritanical" nature of colonial America. The image of the dour-visaged, pleasure-loathing "Puritan" is a potent American icon. Though there is some truth to that gray picture it is over-used. Not all Americans were thin-lipped repressives who stood constant watch on the sexual behavior of their neighbors. Some reveled in their own sexuality and thought the lives of their fellow citizens were private matters. However, there was a sense among many that sexuality was an area properly regulated by the state and society. This close attention paid to the lives of others was not necessarily meant to eliminate sexual behavior, but instead to "channel it" as a "duty and joy within marriage."[7] Again, this can be seen as a stabilizing function. One that nurtured society by placing sexual energy within its proper context of marriage.

However, there were many laws to regulate "deviance," which may basically be seen as any sexuality outside marriage. Punishments ranged from fines and lashings to the death penalty. Some colonies even had laws (such as that Massachusetts enacted in 1631) calling for the death penalty in cases of adultery, though the penalty was seldom carried out. The "crime" of adultery is indicative of several aspects of the prevailing societal attitudes toward gender. It was usually defined as sex between a man and a married woman. Sex between married men and single women or among unmarried couples was only considered fornication and subject to less harsh penalties. By the 18th century the penalty for adultery was reduced to fines, lashings or public humiliation (the scarlet letter, for example).[8]

The death penalty was also prescribed for rape, bestiality and sodomy, though again it was seldom enforced after the 17th century. As D'Emilio points out, sodomy was not defined purely as a "homosexual" act, but included other "unnatural," or non-procreative acts between men, women or animals (bestiality). "Sex" crimes punishable by lesser penalties included pre-marital or extramarital sex, illegitimate birth and lewd behavior. Various things fell under the rubric of lewd behavior or lasciviousness. Many historians have encountered court records of locals charged with such behavior. One such case in New Hampshire in 1864 recorded the affidavits of neighbors concerning a Mr. Hardy. Quite a trial to his neighbors, Mr. Hardy was an exhibitionist who was wont to "let down his pantaloons" to expose his "tricker."[9]

Over time there was a shift in "state" control to that of public or societal "moral" control as opposed to strictly legally mandated charges.[10] However, laws regarding sexual behavior (or misbehavior) continued to be part of state codes. Indiana's revised statutes of 1831 contained laws against lewd behavior, rape and adultery. Once again, there was often unequal punishment for adultery according to gender. In the Hoosier state, women convicted of adultery were subject to up to three months imprisonment, whereas men convicted of the same charge were only fined.[11]

Concomitant with (or due to) the above changes was the shift in attitude toward marriage. A more "romantic" view emerged in the late eighteenth century. This was in reaction to previously held ideas of marriages arranged for "business" or other considerations, rather than for romantic or companionate considerations. It is sometimes seen as a shift from parental control of the betrothal process to one in which couples and their wishes became paramount. A rise in premarital pregnancies (it is estimated that 1/3 of all New England brides were pregnant in the late 18th century) may have played a role in this process. It appears some couples may have tried to force parents to agree to their choice of mate by presenting them with the fait accompli of a grandchild on the way.[12]

The feminine "ideal" also changed over time. During much of the 17th and early 18th centuries, the ideal woman exhibited meekness and spirituality. Toward the end of that period, there was a shift to physical beauty and sexual appeal as desirable attributes in a woman. This probably reflected the growing companionate-romantic idea of marriage. This more full-blooded view was not to last long however. By the beginning of the 19th century the idea of the "passionless" woman grew. This view held that women were innately less "sexual" creatures than men and were infinitely more modest and moral beings.[13] At its extreme, one 1882 "authority" claimed that females " have practically nothing of what is understood as sexual passion."[14] Some believe this was in reaction to societal concerns that women were no longer as "protected" by legal or community controls as previously. From this idea grew the Cult of Womanhood, in which chaste, spiritual women acted as society's beacons of goodness, which was to dominate the feminine ideal throughout the 19th century.

Sexuality both within and outside marriage varied according to the couple. To some, sex was an obligation to be endured, while to others it was a joy to be shared. A study (albeit one of limited scope) of married women born between 1850 and 1880 showed that 2/3 readily admitted feeling sexual desire (something women were not "supposed" to feel, according to popular belief) and the majority experienced orgasm. Additionally, 84% reported using some form of birth control.[15]

Clearly, couples were having and enjoying sex. And, by the mid 19th century were doing so for reasons other than procreation. Obviously, if procreation was not the only purpose for sex, reproductive control was practiced either openly or clandestinely by many more people than might be supposed.

Reproductive Control

There was a trend toward having There was a trend toward having fewer children over the span of the 19th century. The average married couple had over seven children in 1800. That number would shrink to 5.42 in 1850 and 4.24 by 1880.[16] The reasons for this drop-off were myriad. Large families were often economically untenable for urban dwellers. For many, maintaining their "middle class" status meant restraining family size. The downward trend was also evident on the farm. Decreased availability of land and increased mechanization meant fewer hands were needed about the farm. Fewer children meant fewer mouths to feed and feet to shod. Though farm families were still larger (though some historians believe rural fertility fell at a greater pace than urban rates) than urban ones, they too were growing smaller as the century grew shorter. Other limiting factors included a higher age at first marriage (20.6 for women in 1800, 24 by 1839) and lower age of women at last birth (38.6 years in 1760, 35.7 by 1840).[17] The declining age of last birth is likely an indication that women were consciously limiting reproduction, especially because they knew of the dangers.

Childbirth, or parturition, was an event especially fraught with peril in antebellum America. Any abnormality might end in disaster. A fetus in the breech or other abnormal position could lead to the death of both mother and child. At times, "difficult or protracted labor" resulted in what today seem barbaric or ghoulish methods of treatment. Physicians sometimes had to perform embryotomies to save the mother. An embryotomy was the act of separation of any part of the fetus while in utero. This might involve decapitation or extraction of a limb to permit extraction of the fetus. The physical and emotional tolls of such procedures were enormous for the mother (and doctor), but few other options were open to the physician. Caesareans were "rarely performed during the first half of the nineteenth century" so one avenue to alleviate suffering and ensure a safe birth was generally closed. In cases when the rare procedure was performed, fatalities often ensued due to infections.[18]

Thus women were well aware of the hazards of childbirth and the wear on their bodies and psyches of repeated pregnancies. And husbands were cognizant of other, usually economic, reasons for limiting family size. Couples accepted that there were two main ways of achieving family limitation: contraception or abortion.

Contraception

Contraception has long been practiced. In ancient Egypt women resorted to suppositories of crocodile dung, while Greek women coated their cervixes with olive oil (a surprisingly effective method according to one study).[19] Other methods were tried with varying success over the ages. Little formal literature or open discussion of contraception took place until the mid 19th century. Previously knowledge was often passed privately from woman to woman, generation to generation. It was spoken of in muted tones, in hushed voices from blush-reddened faces. Still the knowledge was there if you sought it hard enough.

> The average married couple had over seven children in 1800. That number would shrink to 5.42 in 1850 and 4.24 by 1880.

The three major (and most known) methods of limiting birth in colonial America were coitus interuptus, breastfeeding and abortion.[20]

Coitus interuptus, or withdrawal before ejaculation, was one of the most popular methods used throughout early America. This often-ineffective method left contraception in the hands of the man (and one in a heightened state), seldom an effective strategy. However, it was widely practiced. One 19th century husband averred he "minded his pullbacks." An Indiana Quaker husband told Robert Dale Owen, who discussed withdrawal and other contraceptive methods in his groundbreaking Moral Physiognomy, that he and his spouse used withdrawal as their birth control technique.[21]

Breastfeeding, to delay the onset of menstruation, was one of the oldest forms of birth control and widely practiced throughout America. Again its effectiveness varied greatly, but it was a method over which women exerted some control. Some tried the "rhythm" or safe period method with indifferent success. In an age when even physicians were sometimes unsure about which were the "safe" times within a woman's cycle, it was not a method to be relied upon. Also used during the antebellum period were various douches, consisting of water, honey, and various astringents, among other solutions.[22]

Of course, there were always "folk" remedies and methods. On the Indiana frontier, such fanciful notions as having sex on an incline plane to avoid dislodging the egg, dancing "right smartly" immediately after sex, and briskly riding horseback over rough terrain were postulated and practiced, likely to the chagrin of those trying them.[23]

Victorian Era Contraception

Like many areas of American life, there were "technological" innovations in contraception as the 19th century progressed. A major improvement came with Charles Goodyear's vulcanization of rubber process. Goodyear's discovery made condoms more reliable and less expensive. Previously they had been made of intestine or fabric soaked in brine and had been uncomfortable and costly. Vulcanization also "... gave rise to domestic manufacture of... intrauterine devices, douching syringes, [and] womb veils (the nineteenth-century term for diaphragm and cervical caps) ..... ."[24] Advertised as "rubber goods" they were available from drug stores, mail order houses, and dry goods stores. There were significant improvements in the various "sperm blocking devices," like IUDs and diaphragms, which made them more reliable.[25]

Douching was perhaps the most common form of contraception for middle class women of the late 19th century. Solutions used as a "spermicide" included water, both hot and cold, honey, tannin, powdered opium, iodine, and strychnine. Vaseline, which was touted as a contraceptive in the 1870s by Colgate, was also used to cleanse the "germ" (the codeword for sperm used in some advertisements).[26]

To answer the growing "need" for family limitation an expanding contraceptive industry was in place in the United States by 1870. The increasing openness about contraceptives and their wider availability upset many and campaigns against the "contraceptive entrepreneurs" grew more vocal. The ultimate champion of this view (along with Samuel Colgate who hypocritically headed a group opposed to contraceptives while making money selling Vaseline) was Anthony Comstock. Comstock, an early and zealous "morals crusader" supported by the YMCA and the Society for the Suppression of Vice (in which he was an officer), campaigned against vices of all stripes. He saw contraception as an aider and abettor of vice. Comstock helped push postal legislation through Congress that made the sending of "obscene" materials through the mail illegal. He succeeded in having contraceptives designated obscene matter.[27]

This act and others made contraceptives less available and drove them "underground." However, they could still be procured, if you knew what to look for and where to look. Contraceptives were still made after the 1873 act, but companies no longer openly marketed them as birth control devices, instead saying they had health benefits, such as using an IUD to "undo" a prolapsed uterus.[28] Advertisements for "rubber" goods and other birth control methods still appeared in papers of the era, but were couched in medical terms and code words. Knowing customers could still go to the right druggist or store to find what they sought.

When contraception failed (as it likely did more often that not) or was unavailable women or couples sometimes turned to their next option, abortion.

Abortion

Abortion in the early nineteenth century simply did not elicit the controversy or comment as today (though it was rarely discussed as openly). Though not actively encouraged, it was not necessarily condemned out of hand if carried out early in the pregnancy. Many believed it permissible if done before "quickening," or fetal movement, which usually occurred in the second trimester. The first anti-abortion law was enacted in Connecticut in 1821, but it was basically an anti-poisoning law that stipulated it a crime if the woman was "quick with child." In essence, the law was aimed at doctors or potion-sellers whose medicines might cause an unwanted abortion. Quickening was the decisive issue every time abortion was raised in court prior to 1840. If the abortion took place before quickening it was not adjudged a crime.[29] Indiana made abortions illegal in 1835, and did not make the distinction regarding quickening. Any abortion was made illegal unless done to save the woman's life.[30] Again, this appears to have been a case of protecting the woman. The Hoosier law was a rarity. Most "laws enacted between 1820 and 1840 retained the quickening doctrine and attempted to protect women from unwanted abortion, rather than prosecute them."[31]

Abortion was not considered a significant "means of family limitation" during the first third of the century. It was mainly viewed as a way of avoiding the scandal attached to an illicit affair or birth out of wedlock.[32] However, by the late 1830s a change in the type of person seeking abortions and the reasons behind it, became evident. The rising abortion rate of the period probably reflected a desire on the part of married women to limit family size. It is estimated that the abortion rate jumped from one abortion in every 25-35 live births during 1800-1830 to one in every 5-6 live births by 1850.[33] These figures may be a bit high (evidence is still sketchy), but are indicative of a trend.

Abortion, like birth control information, became more available between 1830 and 1850. That period saw a mail order and retail abortifacient drug trade flourish.

A woman could send away for certain pills or discreetly purchase them at a store. Surgical methods were "available, but dangerous" and seldom used.[34] This openness and commercial availability was mainly a feature of northern urban areas. Like much other technological and cultural change, it was later in its arrival in the Midwest, and the average Midwestern woman likely had a more difficult time in obtaining an abortion than her eastern, urban counterpart if she desired one.

It was not, however, impossible. Information and abortifacients were within reach of a woman if she grasped hard enough. Herbal abortifacients were the most widely utilized in rural, nineteenth-century America. Again, networking and word-of-mouth broadcast specious methods. Women who relied on such old wives tales sometimes resorted to rubbing gunpowder on their breasts or drinking a "tea" brewed with rusty nail water. Other suggestions included "bleeding from the foot, hot baths, and cathartics."[35] Midwives were thought reliable informants and were wont to prescribe seneca, snakeroot, pennyroyal or cohosh, the favored method of Native American women. Thomsonian medicine advocates claimed the preferred "remedy" was a mixture of tansy syrup and rum.[36]

More reliable sources of information were the ever-popular home medical books. If a woman knew where to look the information was easily gleaned. One book, Samuel Jennings' *The Married Ladies Companion*, was meant to be used by rural women. It offered frank advice for women who "took a common cold," the period colloquialism for missing a period. It urged using cathartics like aloe and calomel, and bleeding to restore menstruation.[37]

Abortion information was usually available in two sections of home medical books: how to "release obstructed menses" and "dangers" to avoid during pregnancy. The latter section was a sort of how-to in reverse that could be effectively put to use by the reader. The most widely consulted work, Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, advised emetics and a mixture of prepared steel, powdered myrrh, and aloe to "restore menstrual flow."[38] Under causes of abortion to be avoided, it listed violent exercise, jumping too high, blows to the belly, and lifting great weights. Clearly, any woman wishing badly enough to abort could find a solution to her dilemma, without relying on outside aid. If she wished to rely on herbal remedies, they could be easily obtained. Aloes, one of the most widely urged and effective abortifacient, were regularly advertised in newspapers as being available in local stores.[39]

The commerce in things sexual was active, profitable, and roiled just beneath the seemingly placid surface of American life.

Of course, the number of women who availed themselves of the abortion option cannot be properly approximated. It is enough to say that abortion was a feasible, available, and used option; it was a contributor to the falling birth rate by mid-century.

Anti-abortion sentiment grew after the Civil War as the issue increasingly took on moral, ethical and health overtones. The American Medical Association led the fight for restrictive abortion regulations after the war, helping push legislation though statehouses to outlaw abortion no matter the stage of pregnancy. The laws, which were seldom enforced, seemed to have been driven more by medical reasons (restricting what could be done and who could do it), than by religious or moral ones, though those played a role. The net effect was to drive abortion, like contraception, underground.[40] This did not mean that abortion ceased to become a means of family limitation. Like contraception, it was a viable option if you knew where to seek it. Ads for herbal abortifacients like pennyroyal appeared in newspapers like the *Noblesville Republican-Ledger* in the 1880s. Code words like "indispensable to LADIES" announced that it could be purchased via mail.[41] Other herbal means were long known and easily obtained from drug stores or from the fields in which they grew. Though the laws did indeed protect many women from dangerous, sometimes fatal, poisons, they also pushed some, especially underclass, women to the proverbial dark alleys for abortions performed by the quack and the unqualified.[42]

Sometimes the lack of effective birth control led to tragedy. In exceedingly rare cases new mothers or fathers resorted to infanticide, such as in the 1802 case of an unwed mother in North Carolina who murdered her newborn child. Ohio (later Indiana) Quaker Daniel Beales recorded the case in his travel diary. "there was a summons for a comitee of women to search for a child that was supposed to be live born and put in a hole and covered which was an awful sight and the mother of it taken and committed to gaol [jail] and kept under guard … I went to some of my cousons and to see the crimenel which was a sorrowful sight and not to be forgot and stayed the night at the three springs and the young woman and her sister went off and the guard lying asleep… "[43]

Sexual Commerce

"Sex sells" was as true in the nineteenth century as it is today. The commerce in things sexual was active, profitable, and roiled just beneath the seemingly placid surface of American life.

America experienced a pornography boom beginning in the 1850s. Though erotica had always been an underground feature of American life, technological advancements increased the supply of "pornography."

Improvements in printing technology allowed for the increased production of inexpensive books dealing with sexual subjects. Cheap novels with titles like *Confessions of a Lady's Waiting Maid and Amours of an American Adventurer in the New World and Old* appeared. They joined the old standby *Maria Monk,* which had been around for a generation and served the dual purpose of being both virulently anti-Catholic and titillating readers with descriptions of nuns and priests having sex. These and similar books became the furtive companions of many lonely Civil War soldiers.[44] Their production continued after the war and likely found their way into many hands and to hiding places in many barns, corncribs, and rooms across the land.

These novels often shared the soldier's knapsack or farm boy's lair with more "graphic" representations of sexuality. The first photographs may have been of Parisian rooftops, but it did not take long for the lens to seek the nude figure. Photos of unclad women (mainly) and representations of sexual acts were soon available. America's great internecine conflict also spurred the growth and distribution of "obscene prints and photographs" as inexpensive photos found an eager market. 12 x 15 prints of scenes like "Naked Wood Nymphs" sold for $1.20 per dozen and soon passed into eager hands.[45]

This outpouring of adult material did not go unnoticed. Clergy, reform groups, and individual crusaders saw it as cancerous growth on American society. Like modern crusaders they linked it to their perceived decline in the nation's moral standards and sought ways to eliminate or ameliorate its pernicious effects. The YMCA, church groups, and private societies dedicated to combating "vice" joined in the ongoing battle (censorship is, after all, an unacknowledged American tradition). The most well-known and powerful leader was the aforementioned Anthony Comstock. The same "Comstock Law" that made contraceptives "obscene" and prevented them from being sent through the mail also made "obscenity" a crime and kept such materials from being mailed (lower postal rates had been another factor in the "porno boom").[46] As with contraceptives, the law did not eliminate obscene materials, only drove it beneath the shelves and into the backrooms. It was still available if you wanted it.

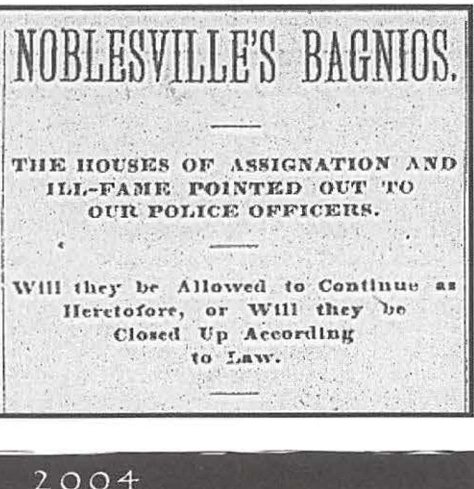
The world's oldest profession was also a remarkably vibrant one in the United States (and it seems, in agrarian Hamilton County, Indiana and the rest of the Midwest).

Prostitution was an early import to the New World. Always present, it grew from meager beginnings over the 17th and 18th centuries. By the early 19th century it flourished in urban areas and was spreading to the countryside. Though individual prostitutes and streetwalkers were numerous, the "scene of action' had begun to coalesce around brothels (a guidebook rating various brothels in cities around the nation appeared in 1859[47]), dance halls and houses of assignation.[48] The proverbial "madam" became a part of American folklore. And, she and her charges were to be found in big cities, small towns, and even isolated farms in the Indiana and Midwestern countrysides.

So, prostitution was a fact of life of American culture. Usually it lay hidden or un-discussed, but occasionally its painted face was thrust into the light. One such flurry of acknowledgement occurred in sleepy, backwoods Hamilton County, Indiana when a local newspaper began a four part series exposing prostitution in its midst.

The October 19, 1883 edition of the *Noblesville Republican Ledger* began the expose under the headline "Noblesville Bagnios (bagnio, originally a Turkish bath, was period slang for brothels)." It reported that "several" ill-fame and assignation houses existed in Noblesville. Saying they were "well known" to the law, the paper reported they operated "full blast at all hours." One, run by a "colored harlot" and known as the White Hall, was located right on main street! The paper was particularly offended by the madam's "swaggering manner" when she sashayed Noblesville's street with her parading girls offering tantalizing glimpses of what was on offer to the men of the town.[49]

It also disclosed that another house sited near the "colored Baptist church" was being run by a madam



NOBLESVILLE'S BAGNIOS.

THE HOUSES OF ASSIGNATION AND ILL-FAME POINTED OUT TO OUR POLICE OFFICERS.

Will they be Allowed to Continue as Heretofore, or Will they be Closed Up According to Law.

who had formerly plied her trade in the tiny farming community of Cicero. Yet another house, a "low dive" called the Stone Front and also located by a church, was presided over by a "sheet iron blonde," who made sure she and her employees were seen exhibiting their wares at the post office after each incoming mail.[50] Obviously, Noblesville madams were savvy marketers.

Prostitution was not just a city phenomenon. Some, when driven out of town, moved into the fields. The editor told the story of a Mrs. Jack Conner who had maintained a "house" in the southern part of Noblesville until it was raided by police and subsequently "completely riddled and burned down" by outraged neighbors. Prior to the torching of the house, Mrs. Conner "had moved what few traps she had to the Moses Massey farm a few miles south of Noblesville [barely a mile north of present-day Conner Prairie Museum]."[51]

The article went on to say there were other such houses in town and that "fully a score of young girls ... walk our streets every night." Noblesville, it said, was the "resting place for all the scourings of our neighboring towns, where they prosecute such persons." Those "scourings" included "an old hag and her daughter... a young harlot..." who had come to Noblesville after being driven out of Anderson. The woman lived "upon the earnings of her daughter, an eighteen old girl with "rather a prepossesing [sic] look... at the price of her daughter's soul."[52]

As might be expected the article's shockwave roiled through the county, stirring indignation and controversy. In the second part of the series the editor noted he "must have struck fire by the smoke it [the article] had raised." At least two of the madams threatened lawsuits or worse upon the editor, who described one as " one of those oily tongued tempters who has for years been cloaking her ulcerous skin with all the hypocrisy of a persecuted saint." All the while this "blear, sore-eyed creature" was luring young girls to their destruction. Still another, whom the paper called the "noted nigger prostitute of Noblesville," was a long time harlot said to be protected by her intimate association with "many of our prominent male citizens [so] that our officers dare not arrest her."[53]

The paper also charged that Noblesville was home to an astounding 26 "houses of assignation and prostitution" (of varying grades). Of that number "only three colored dives [were] counted." More worrisome than even this flood of sin was that so little was being done about it. Reliable informants told the paper that even though charges against various madams and houses had been made, they continued to operate without interference from the law.[54]

The article speaks to several points about prostitution and societal attitudes. Inherent in one charge is the (racist) notion that Blacks were heavily involved in prostitution. That they predominated in that sordid underworld far out of proportion with their percentage of the population was an accepted fact to many. Such views also corroborated, in the minds of those same people, the notion that African American women (like Native American women) were lustier, more sensual beings and thus drawn to the trade. In addition to the African American women named as madams, the articles mention the daughter of a local black barber "parading the streets."[55] It also reinforced in their minds that Blacks in general were drawn to criminality. Ominously, it also raised the "horrible specter" of interracial sex or relationships, both of which were anathema to many.

The lack of law enforcement was also troublesome. It spoke of payoffs to officials for looking the other way, of men in high places protecting an evil in their midst. It also confirmed that it was just not the "lower" orders who consorted with prostitutes as some wished to believe. The fallen woman's clientele included some of the community's most upstanding citizens, men of influence and power. For these men to act as protectors of whores and brothels was an indictment of the community, and it must be stopped. In this context, the editor slyly pointed out that under Indiana law owners or agents of those properties housing the offensive profession were subject to fines or imprisonment and reprinted the pertinent section from the statutes.[56]

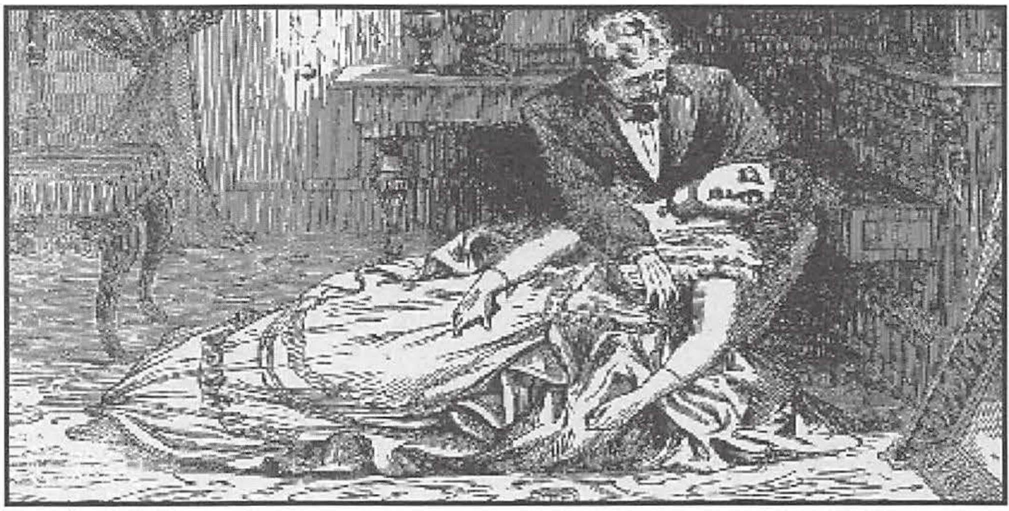
Another key element mentioned in the article was the luring of young girls to their destruction. Victorian society was full of tales of otherwise innocent young women (especially working girls) drawn into the netherworld of prostitution, or of well-bred girls pulled into the abyss of sin and degradation by lovers or the temptations of the dance hall, theater or drink. Entire volumes were devoted to stories of once promising lives torn asunder by vice. Hoosier author and reformed gambler and drunkard Mason Long penned an entire volume filled with cautionary tales of such occurrences that eventually led the fallen one to dishonor, the insane asylum or the suicide's couch.[57] It is one of the many dichotomous aspects of Victorian thought that women, who were viewed as lustless, could be so easily drawn into the world of sensuality and depravity. That such things might happen in Noblesville (and by extension, other Midwestern towns) was a horror not to be contemplated.

A third article told more tales of horror (the local schoolyard was being used as a meeting place for prostitutes and their clients!) but also that the clean-up was beginning. It noted that the crusade by the newspaper and its support by readers (the paper printed letters and petitions of support) were having an effect. The streets of Noblesville had become quieter and less lawless, as prostitutes and their customers were being arrested. The final article in the series triumphantly reported that madams and their prostitutes were leaving town, one to the seemingly happier hunting grounds of Lafayette, another to ply her trade in the coalfields of Pennsylvania.[58]

Did the *Republican Ledger* sensationalize the prostitution problem in Hamilton County? It almost certainly did. Its rival newspaper the *Independent* accused it of such. It took the *Ledger* to task saying it had exaggerated the problem and averred it had never even heard of some of those named in the articles, saying "it will require more than unsupported statements of the rickety addle-brained little nincompoop of the *Republican Ledger*" to convince it that the problem was so huge. Part of that reaction was the ongoing, highly partisan "newspaper war" waged by the publications. Eventually, however, the *Independent* agreed there was a problem, but just not to the extent the *Ledger* claimed.[59]

But it is clear that prostitution was an active force in Hamilton County, and not just in the city. The county was home to brothels, houses of assignation (sort of "no tell motels" of the period) and "laundries." Some brothels disguised themselves as laundries and the prostitutes listed themselves as laundresses. This helped to cover their activities and explain the stream of men coming to their doors at all hours. This also gave cover to the "johns" who could say they were merely taking in their soiled clothes to be washed. It is not difficult to imagine that a young farm hand or worker could use "going to get my laundry done" among his friends as a slang term for his real actions.

A visit to a brothel then was clearly a rite of passage for some young males, though it could be a frightening one. A letter writer described a 1902 visit to a brothel in Union City, Indiana in which his tentative companion grabbed his hat and ran breathless out of the door and straight to the railway depot after "One girl raised her dress up above her head."[60]



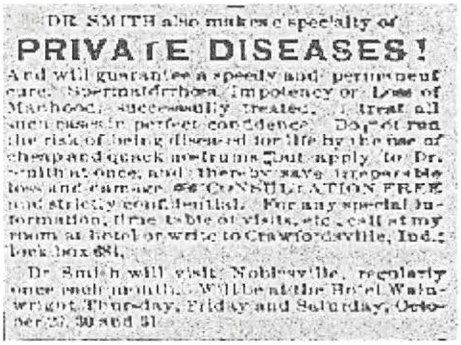
The prostitute's clientele was not limited to farmhands or workingmen, however. Men from all levels of society, married and single, of all ages, threw themselves into the waiting arms of the fallen women. It was a business carried out in all areas. As the articles bring forth, prostitution was likely found in many towns in the county. It also dotted the countryside. The countryman seeking paid comfort did not have to travel far from his furrow to find it, as the allegation that prostitutes had set up shop within a mile or two of William Conner's old homestead attests.

The public outcry and renewed law enforcement against prostitution did not eliminate it from the county, merely drove it more underground for a while. It continued. The following year a constable in Cicero was assaulted and left for dead by a patron when he went to clear out a bagnio in that northern Hamilton County town. Within two years a local businessman wrote a letter to the editor again decrying the fact that Noblesville was "infested with... prostitutes who ply their vocation mainly after night."[61]

The battles against prostitution and other forms of sexual commerce were part of wider vice suppression efforts active in the late 19th century. In essence it was a return to state control of private matters similar to colonial America. Or, as D'Emilio points out, with sexuality becoming more open, more public, it can be seen as an attempt by the state and society wishing to push sexuality further into the "private sphere" and subsequently any "public expression of sexuality was considered... obscene." Allied with this belief was the idea that "lust was in itself dangerous" to the individual and society. It is such thinking that made the Victorian era synonymous with overwrought prudery and priggishness.[62]

Sexual Health

Another cause for concern about vice and "lust" was that they spread disease, especially what we today call STDs, sexually transmitted diseases. Syphilis, or the pox, was pandemic. Sufferers had little real hope for successful treatment. Mercury, both applied topically and taken orally, was the usual prescription. Given its toxic qualities it would seem the treatments were often worse than the disease, at least in the short term. Of course, as with most other afflictions in the 19th century, patent medicines and quack nostrums claiming miraculous cures abounded. Often the afflicted was loath to visit his family physician. In response to this there appear to have been doctors who specialized in treating such diseases. One such physician visited Noblesville once a month during the 1880s, advertising his visits with ads saying he specialized in "PRIVATE DISEASES" and all ailments of the urinary organ.[63]

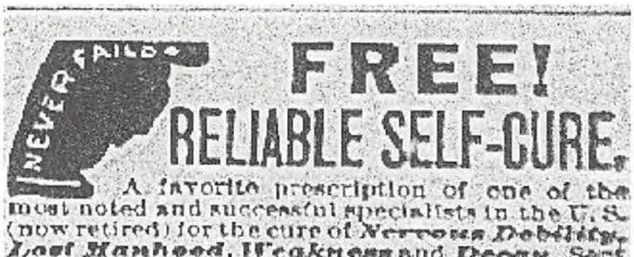


DR SMITH also makes a specialty of

PRIVATE DISEASES!

And will guarantee a speedy and permanent cure. Spermatorrhoea, Impotency or Loss of Manhood, successfully treated. I treat all such cases in perfect confidence. Do not run the risk of being diseased for life by the use of cheap and quack nostrums, but apply to Dr. Smith at once, and thereby save irreparable loss and damage. ☞CONSULTATION FREE and strictly confidential. For any special information, time table of visits, etc., call at my room at hotel or write to Crawfordsville, Ind.; lock box 681.

Dr. Smith will visit Noblesville, regularly once each month. Will be at the Hotel Wainwright, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, October 29, 30 and 31


NEVER FAILS

FREE!

RELIABLE SELF-CURE.

A favorite prescription of one of the most noted and successful specialists in the U. S. (now retired) for the cure of ***Nervous Debility, Lost Manhood, Weakness*** and ***Decay.*** Sent in plain sealed envelope *free.* Druggists can fill it.

Address DR. WARD & CO., Louisiana, Mo.

Of course, there were other "afflictions," especially those troubling to male sexual health. "Virility" problems like impotency or premature ejaculation were cause for concern and "treatments" were available. Often called nervous disability, lost manhood or decay, there were the invariable patent nostrums or herbs purporting to be the Viagra of the period to treat the problem. Ginseng, of course, was an herbal cure long known for its aphrodisiacal properties. Period newspapers nearly always contained advertisements for similar "medicines." A Prof. Harris of St. Louis advertised his "pastilles" as a "Radical Cure for SPERMATORRHEA AND IMPOTENCY." A free trial package of the cure, which restored the "natural function of the human organism," was offered. The pastilles could then be purchased for $3.00 for one month's treatment, or $7.00 for a three-month supply. Dr. Ward of Louisiana, who used one of the more frankly phallic symbols seen in early ads, sent his medicine in a plain, sealed envelope or it could be purchased at the druggist.[64] There appear to have been no shortage of need for their services.

The bans on "obscenity," a nearly complete lack of sex education, and reluctance to discuss sexual matters even among families or friends left many couples at sea as how to deal with "marital" or sexual problems. In such an atmosphere what was "normal or abnormal" or even basic information about their bodies and their functions were difficult to come by. Many turned to marriage manuals to answer their questions. For fifty cents in money or postage, couples could obtain Dr. Whittier's *Marriage Guide.* The book contained "all the curious, doubtful or inquisitive want to know" and was illustrated with "50 wonderful pen pictures true to life."[65] Long before *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex* or the advent of marital counseling, guides like this were often the only way couples could obtain information to guide them through turbulent shoals in marriage and relationships.

One aspect of woman's health that has recently been given much attention was the treatment of "hysteria" in women during the nineteenth century. Feminine hysteria, its symptoms included "anxiety, sleeplessness, irritability, erotic fantasy, sensations of heaviness in the abdomen, ... and vaginal lubrication," was believed by some doctors to be the result of sexual frustration. Ultimately, some believe, this frustration was the result of the androcentric (male-centered) view of sex which broke down sex into three basic steps: foreplay/preparation, penetration, and male orgasm. As sex was "popularly or medically defined" as penetration and orgasm, the woman was to attain orgasm during coitus. If she did not, and studies have shown that 50-70% of women do not orgasm merely as result of penetration, that was basically her tough luck. A woman's inability to orgasm in those situations led to idea of frigidity and 'tension." The buildup of sexual tension led to hysteria, which one 17th-century "expert" thought ranked second only to fevers among diseases.[66]

One accepted cure for hysteria was the stimulation of the vagina and labia through manipulation, which was to result in "release." In other words women were "manipulated" into an orgasm. Their "paroxysms" were signs of release. Treatments were often ongoing and women might duly report to their doctors for weekly orgasms. Many women undoubtedly looked forward to the visits, though most doctors averred they found the treatment tedious and without any erotic over (or under) tones.[67] In a society in which women were supposed to be passionless, non-sexual beings, the treatments provided release in more ways than one. For some women, it medically sanctioned desires they were not supposed to have.

Once again, technology made the task easier. Dildos were sometimes used (rubber ones were replacing wooden models by the 1870s), but the real advance was the advent of the electric vibrator. It often came as a relief to doctors who often looked for "every opportunity to substitute other devices for their fingers, such as the attentions of a husband, the hands of a midwife, or the business end of some tireless and impersonal mechanism."68 It replaced steam-powered (normally used only by specialists) and wind-up vibrators, called a percuteur, as well as a battery-powered one.69 The vibrator then, was the answer to many prayers, offered up in both male and female voices!

The electro-mechanical vibrator made its first appearance in the early 1880s and was a boon to the treatment of hysteria. It was not only used by physicians but was marketed to women as an appliance and self help aid. Women could now "treat themselves" at home. Historian Rachel Maines claims it was the fifth household appliance to be electrified, after the sewing machine, fan, tea kettle and toaster.70 If so, it shows how desirable and needed an invention it was.

Unhealthy Practices

Though "advancements" were made in sexual health, there were some practices that were considered decidedly unhealthy, both to the individual and society.

Masturbation was perhaps considered foremost among them. Reams of literature were devoted to this "secret vice," which was thought to cause insanity and disease. Physicians and health reformers saw it as debilitating practice that weakened manhood. They prescribed abstinence, "cold baths, fresh air, and bland foods" to curb its occurrence. Schoolmasters and parents warned boys (similar views were held regarding female masturbation, though as basically "lustless" creatures, women were thought less susceptible to its siren call) of its dangers to body, mind and spirit.71

An ad for an 1840s tract called *Facts and Information From Distinguished Physicians and Other Sources* carefully couched its subject in euphemism but spoke of the "vice which is undermining the health and happiness of many, and degrading them, in some respects, below the brute creation." It was, it said, "dangerous in proportion to the secrecy and silence which it has been involved." The ad also carried a statement from a doctor at a Massachusetts' hospital (possibly for the insane), who had "done much to expose this solitary vice," claiming that 42 of the 199 patients there were "victims of masturbation." The pamphlet was a big seller, with twenty thousand copies printed in ten months.72 The sentiments expressed carried weight throughout the nineteenth century and masturbation was considered a dangerous risk. Male teachers and fathers, especially, would have warned boys of its dangers, likely with much less success than they hoped. One of the fears sometimes associated with masturbation among schoolboys, especially those in all-male environment, was that it might lead to "the still more loathsome… unnatural commerce with each other," homosexuality.73

Homosexuality was also seen as a disease or vice. It is hard to precisely pin down or categorize the extent of early attitudes. As D'Emilio maintains, during the colonial era and the early nineteenth century the "modern terms homosexuality and heterosexuality do not apply to an era that had not yet articulated these distinctions." The reasons for this non-articulation are varied. Some likely did not believe it existed to any extent, as John C. Calhoun evidently did when he spoke of the learning a friend was a "sodomite" and called it the "first instance of that crime ever heard in this part of the world." Calhoun's statement reeks of what one historian has called the "compulsive denial" of homosexuality in early America.74 During those periods same-sex relationships or individual sex acts occurred or intimate (though non-sexual) relationships existed. But it was not until denial gave way to admission by the latter part of the nineteenth century that sexual relationships became overly stigmatized and gays began to be seen as terribly "different" from "normal" society."

By the 1880s homosexuality was thought to be a "disease," as well as a criminal activity.75 For the vast, vast majority of homosexuals to be gay during this period was a secret to be kept hidden in the darkest corner, or risk becoming one of society's most scorned outcasts (one need only look at the life of Oscar Wilde for the most public example). One could quite literally take one's life in one's own hand to reveal it. Homosexuality was indeed one of the more loathed "vices" of the nineteenth century, one that was whispered about in tones of righteous indignation in hate-filled tones.

But the nineteenth century was not just a time of extreme repression. In essence, repression begat feeble attempts at liberation. The last decades saw the rise of a much misunderstood and vilified movement, one of whose tenets was to ameliorate repression.

The Free Love Movement, which had elements similar to the modern libertarianism, was a rather anarchistic effort to separate government from private issues like marriage and sexual behavior. In essence, it was the "antithesis of vice suppression" that so dominated the last quarter of the century. The movement came to be identified with leading proponent Victoria Woodhull, a figure much vilified and one who revealed she was conceived behind a sturdy bench at a camp meeting when her illiterate, frenzied, newly "saved" mother was "taken" by her horse-thief father.[76] It opposed prostitution, as a subjugator of women, and male dominance of women in general. It also wished to abolish marriage, again partly because it was another avenue for dominating women.

Many Free Love adherents vigorously adopted the view that sex should be enjoyed for pleasure's sake (as part of a loving relationship), and not just for reproduction. It was this idea that led to much misunderstanding of the movement as many saw it as merely promoting licentiousness and promiscuity. Because of this, "Free Lovers" were scorned as wild, continuously-copulating sybarites who would only lead society into degradation if permitted to do so. This view ignored the fact that many Free Love advocates and movement leaders more often were "serial monogamists" who enjoyed stable long-term relationships. Their desire was to ensure the "right of men and women to choose sexual partners freely on the basis of mutual love... unconstrained by church, state, or public opinion," not to turn American into a vast panorama of orgiastic excess.# Still, to the average Hoosier of the 1880s, "Free Lovers" were a dangerous breed and their beliefs could do no good for society.

Sex and sexuality, as can be seen, was not an invention of the 20th century. It informed, embarrassed, enriched and effected the lives of 19th-century Midwesterners as it did their ancestors and will their great, great, great grandchildren.

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[1] D'Emilio, John & Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), p. 16

[2] Ibid; Perdue, Theda, "Native Women in the Early Republic: Old World Perceptions, New World Realities" in Hoxie, et all, *Native Americans and the Early Republic* (Charlottesville, 1999), pp. 85-88.

[3] D'Emilio, p.7

[4] Perdue, pp. 84-85, 89-90.

[5] Ibid, pp.90-93

[6] Hoxie, ed, *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (New York, 1996), p. 67; D'Emilio, 7

[7] D'Emilio, 16

[8] Ibid, 27

[9] NH vs. Hardy, "Lasciviousness" (copy in Research Files, Conner Prairie Archives)

[10] D'Emilio, 27-30, 42

[11] *Revised Laws of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1831) 183, 192

[12] D'Emilio, 41-43

[13] Ibid

[14] Quoted in Maines, Rachel, *The Technology of Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore, 1999), 60

[15] D'Emilio, 175-178; Tone, Andrea, *Devices & Desires A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York, 2001), 73-76

[16] Degler, Carl, At Odds (Oxford, 1980), 178-180; D'Emilio, 58

[17] "Fertility and Sexuality" (unpub., Conner Prairie Archives, nd); D'Emilio, 58; Degler, 183-186

[18] McDonnel, Katherine Mandusic, *Early Nineteenth Century Health and Medicine in Central Indiana* (unpub. Conner Prairie Archives, 1980), 37, 178; for fuller discussion of women's health and legal issues see the author's articles the Midwest Open-Air Museums Magazine (Summer/Fall, 1996 and Fall, 1999)

[19] Tone, 13

[20] Brodie, Jane Farrell, *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, 1994), 41

[21] Ibid, 59

[22] For details on these and other early methods, see Tone and Brodie.

[23] "Fertility and Sexuality"

[24] Tone, 14

[25] Ibid, 15-17,; Brodie, 216-220, 263-271

[26] Tone, 28-29; Brodie, 67-69

[27] See the first two chapters of Tone for an excellent exposition of Comstock's campaign and its results

[28] Tone, 48

[29] Mohr, James C., *Abortion In America* (New York, 1978) 6,21' D'Emilio, 66

[30] Revised Laws of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1839) 224

[31] D'Emilio, 66

[32] Mohr, 17

[33] D'Emilio, 65; Mohr 77

[34] Mohr, 55-60

[35] D'Emilio, 63

[36] Mohr, 11-15, 61-62

[37] Mohr, 6-7

[38] Buchan, William, Domestic Medicine (London, 1828) 400, 409

[39] Indiana Journal, March 6, 1844

[40] Morh, James C., "Abortion," *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston, 1991)

[41] *Noblesville Republican-Ledger*, January 30, 1885

[42] Brodie, 286-288

[43] Beales Travel Diary, Beales Collection, Conner Prairie Archive. The minutes of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting (abstracts located in Lilly Library, Earlham College) show that on 9-18-1802 Anna Ballenger was complained of for "being privy to the concealing of a base born child by her own confession; also for leaving these parts in a clandestine manner."

[44] D'Emilio, 131

[45] Tone, 4-5; D'Emilio, 132-133

[46] Tone, 3-5

[47] see illustration # 16 in D'Emilio

[48] D'Emilio, 50-55, 132-137

[49] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, October 19, 1883

[50] Ibid

[51] Ibid

[52] Ibid

[53] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, October 26, 1883

[54] Ibid

[55] Ibid

[56] Ibid

[57] see Long, Mason, Save the Girls (Cincinnati, 1888)

[58] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, November 7 & 16, 1883

[59] *Noblesville Independent*, November 2 & 13, 1883

[60] Meier Letter, Rural History Project Collection, Conner Prairie Archive

[61] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, February, 29, 1884, October 23, 1885

[62] D'Emilio, 160

[63] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, October 1885

[64] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, January 30, 1885 and January 8, 1886

[65] *Noblesville Republican Ledger*, February 27, 1886

[66] Maines, 5

[67] Ibid, 4, Initially pressed by feminist historians, this androcentric view has gained acceptance among a broad range of historians.

[68] Ibid, 4

[69] ibid, 14

[70] Ibid, 100

[71] D'Emilio, 68-69

[72] Ad appears in *A Disquisition on the Evils of Using Tobacco....* (Boston, 1842)

[73] Sylvester Graham quoted in Sellers, Charles, *The Market Revolution* (New York, 1991), 251

[74] Ibid, 251

[75] D'Emilio, 121-123, 128-129

[76] Told in Goldsmith, Barbara, *Other Powers* (New York, 1998), 17

Living History's Long Row to Hoe:

Midwestern Open Air Museums and Twenty-First Century Threats and Triumphs

Debra A. Reid - Associate Professor, Eastern Illinois University

Editor's note:
A version of this article, "Living History's Long Row to Hoe: A Life-Cycle for Open Air Museums and Historic Sites?" appeared in the ALHFAM Bulletin, vol. 33, no. 4 (Winter 2004), 3-8, an issue developed to museum reductions and closings.

This essay won the 2004 Candace Tangorra Matelic Award, presented by MOMCC in recognition of Dr. Matelic's role in founding MOMCC and serving as the organization's first president. The award recognizes the best essay on a topic related to MOMCC's purpose "to promote excellence and to provide a forum for the interchange of materials, information, ideas and consideration of professional issues within the open air, interactive and historical museum professions.

Open air museum personnel need to be aware of a pattern of historic site development that began during the early 1900s but has gained momentum during the first decade of the twenty-first century. The trend relates to the creation of partnerships between a variety of local public agencies and special interest groups who want to preserve historic farmscapes. The foresight and hard work of these groups, specifically park and recreation districts and "friends" organizations, have helped save sites from closing and have preserved sites threatened by development. Proximity to large population centers affects the types of partnerships, the relationships that emerge between the private and public sectors, and the sense of urgency that swirls around the efforts. The trend appears distinctive from preservation efforts prior to the 1980s because of the broad-based support including tax revenue tied to bond issues that has made many of the projects possible. Well-positioned individuals still play a large role in preservation efforts, but the general public seems to be indirectly funding more historic sites than ever before. Ironically, as more suburban residents live removed from their place of origin and local connections cease to exist because of their physical distance from "home," the more sites develop that serve the displaced by offering them experiences of the past of their adopted place. Rather than private efforts to preserve local history, sometimes critically described as "naval gazing," sites seem to be relying on combinations of local private and public support to present site-specific history to a less vested public.

The major factor prompting these changes relates to funding, or lack thereof. The economic recession prompted by 9-11 hit state agencies particularly hard. Officials at the municipal, county and state level across the country reduced the operations at history museums, historic sites, archives and libraries. Budget reductions at the state level threatened numerous established and professional institutions throughout the Midwest. As early as August 2002, Illinois historic sites, including Lincoln Log Cabin, closed on Mondays and Tuesdays to save funds. State officials believed that such reduced operations would not affect many tourists. Visitation statistics indicated that fewer visitors frequented historic sites on Mondays and Tuesdays than on other days of the weeks. Reducing operations prevented officials from having to threaten closure, and thus saved the staff from the pressures of having to rally support to preserve their sites. [1]

Responses to the funding crisis ranged from professional statements to local lobbying, and often required both. Decisions by public officials and boards of directors to reduce operations or close sites led professional organizations such as the American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), the American Association of Museums (AAM), and the National Coalition for History to take action that reiterated the importance of standards and consistency in preservation and interpretation efforts. The AASLH board of directors adopted a "Statement of Concern Supporting State and Local Historical Agencies" in June 2003. The statement linked access and debate about the past to the "health of the American constitutional democracy" and decried the "draconian reductions in public funding of historical organizations and activities . . . most egregiously at the state level." It concluded by "emphatically" urging "all Americans and the public officials who they elect to continue to invest in the federal, state, and local resources and institutions that are the custodians of our democratic experience. To do anything less dishonors the heritage upon which we build and threatens the future we aspire to create." It circulated widely to AASLH members and to members of the Organization of American Historians, the American Historical Association and other professional groups. Most importantly it went to the CEO of each state historical society and museum and to each state governor and secretary of state. Lobbying for the preservation of the past did little, however, to address the real challenges of financial shortfalls. [2]

The AAM used dramatic reductions in operating income to emphasize the vagaries of funding, and to urge boards and staff to remain ever vigilant. They issued "Considerations for AAM Accredited Museums Facing Retrenchment and Downsizing," on August 28, 2003, as encouragement to accredited museums facing financial reductions. In the "Considerations" the AAM Accreditation Commission challenged the myth that downsizing indicates bad management, but also stressed the ways that changes in museum governance, staff levels and operating procedures could sustain museums and make them more viable. Such statements helped ensure the continuation of the DuPage County Historical Society, a Chicago-area historical museum that had met the highest professional standards in the U.S. as evident by its accreditation by the AAM. When county officials threatened the institution with closure on November 17, 2003, concerned locals and museum professionals started a letter campaign that referenced the institution's professional status. Letters also celebrated the role the institution played in the county. The campaign worked, the county's governing board rethought their decision and the institution remained open. It continues to provide informal educational opportunities to newcomers to Wheaton, Illinois and the county as well as long-term residents. 3

Antonia Dauster peeling apples at Lincoln Log Cabin

Public relations campaigns can save sites, as evidenced by the success of those who lobbied for the DuPage County institution. The campaigns depend on diverse constituencies, as the experience at Oliver Kelly Farm illustrates. The Oliver Kelley Farm, a property of the Minnesota Historical Society, and a National Historic Landmark, was one of the seven sites that the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) announced it would close as a result of state budget cuts proposed for the 2004-2005 fiscal years. The society announced the closings on May 20, 2003, claiming that the high cost of living history interpretation at the Kelley Farm made it difficult to maintain. The benefits gained by 30,000 visitors per year provided incentive to lobby for keeping the site open. Farm supporters rallied immediately to save the farm before the June 30, 2003 closing date. Some stressed the historic significance of the site, as the farm owned by the founder of The National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry. Others wanted to save a tourist attraction that contributed to the local economy. Still others emphasized the educational value of Oliver Kelley Farm. County boards, city councils and school district boards passed resolutions, citizens wrote their representatives, and the Grange, which had purchased the farm in 1934 and had given it to the MHS in 1961, started an on-line petition directed toward state representatives, senators and Minnesota Historical Society staff. Even the Junior Grange contributed to the fund raising campaign to keep the Kelley Farm open. Programs continue at the site through the 2003-2004 winter, an indication of the leverage that public relations campaigns can exert on state funding decisions. 4

Usually sites have to generate new sources of funding to stave off future threats. Friends groups provide critical support for many institutions that face reductions or closure. Lincoln Log Cabin State Historic Site managed to continue to staff school tours, special events, and seasonal programs because of the generosity of the Volunteer Pioneers, that state-operated site's friends group, founded in 1981. Other special interest groups can be organized in ways that lessen dependency on one funding source. For example, the Lincoln-Sargent Farm Foundation, founded in 1985 to help fund the development of the Sargent Farm at Lincoln Log Cabin provided funding for seasonal positions and allowed the state site to maintain its staffing level through the busy summer months when state funding proved inadequate. While these developments indicate the strong commitment of concerned individuals to the educational value of living history, they also indicate how state-supported institutions create different burdens on taxpayers by divesting themselves of the responsibilities that historic sites and living history interpretation require by expecting volunteers to assume the burden.

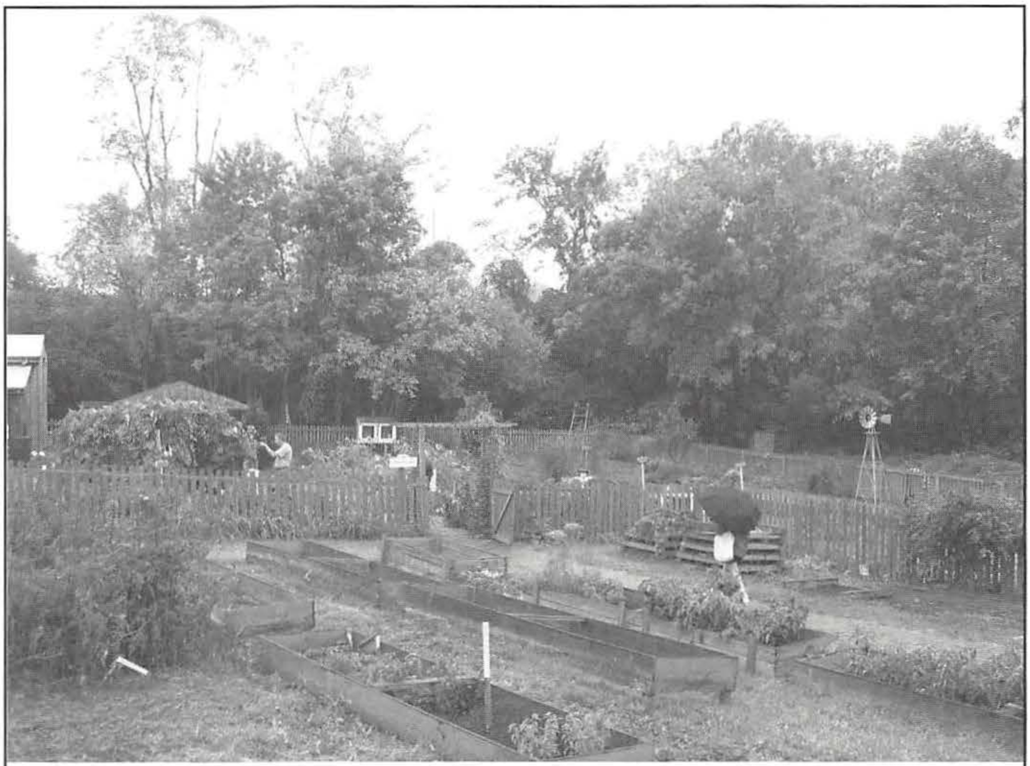
Sometimes closure results when the properties overwhelm an institution's resources. The Cincinnati Nature Center (CNC), a 501(c)(3) organization located northeast of Cincinnati, Ohio, faced difficult decisions about the sites it maintained in 2003. The CNC began in 1965 with the acquisition of 97 acres by Stanley Rowe, Sr. and 12 other interested naturalists. Carl Krippendorf, the son of a shoe company executive, had purchased property near Milford in 1898 to protect it not from urban encroachment, but from agricultural development. He wanted to stop the expansion of tobacco cultivation as well as protect a place that he believed had cured his typhoid fever. The naturalists who founded the nature center in 1965 anticipated urban sprawl and ensured the survival of the significant woodland. Rowe Woods was the only site maintained by the CNC until 1972 when Neil and Camilla McElroy, president of Proctor & Gamble, and his wife Camilla donated 581 acres of agricultural and natural land near Goshen to the CNC. The McElroys expected the CNC to preserve the land as a working farm and to preserve the natural beauty of the woodlands and flowers. Then in 1995 Dorothy and Jim Gorman donated 100 acres near Evendale, Ohio, that included the original Brown farmhouse built around 1835. Five generations had lived in the house and had farmed the fields and pastures. 5

Sunflower Field at Gorman Heritage Farm

The CNC decided that it could not afford to operate the site in January 2003, and it closed the Gorman Heritage Farm in August 2003. Yet, the CNC offered the property to the nearest municipality, the Village of Evendale, a small community of 3,600 residents, and the Village assumed responsibility for the property late in 2003. The democratic process required the Village to hold an election to amend its charter so Village officials could support the farm without having to go through the bidding process each year. The residents passed the amendment easily. The farm reopened in May 2004. The Village of Evendale has committed $300,000 annually for two years until the Gorman Heritage Farm Foundation, a non-profit organization, raises funds adequate to run the property. The foundation also coordinates volunteer opportunities to ensure continuity during the transition. While the site does not include living history interpretation, the property is protected and must be used for agricultural and education. Staff, the foundation's board, and other interested individuals are working on a strategic plan to guide future development. The immediate goals relate to site visibility and use, volunteer recruitment and membership development.

Gorman Heritage Farm staff, two who are "Farm" staff and two who are "office" staff, find that their responsibilities have changed following the transfer. They have had to assume responsibility for things previously done by the central office or outside contractors, such as printing the newsletter and designing and printing brochures and signs, keeping records, doing repairs and paying bills. Yet, the staff has begun to rely more on volunteers to run events as well as diversify the funding base, an indication of the broader support required to sustain the site. Members of the Gorman Heritage Farm Foundation and the local Historical Commission have fundraisers planned, and the newly formed Northern Cincinnati Visitors and Conventions Bureau should provide additional opportunities for public relations and recruitment efforts. The Foundation has a goal to raise at least $2 million by late 2005, and a long-term goal of raising a $10 million endowment. This would generate the required $400,000 to $500,000 annually to employ adequate staff, ensure building and grounds maintenance, and deliver public programs. The Gorman Heritage Farm provides a good case-study of an institution that appealed to its local community for salvation. Furthermore, if the Foundation comes to fruition, it will ensure a diversified financial base that has the potential to cushion the site from vagaries of the market and dependence on attendance and special event income. 6

While the Gorman Farm and other properties like it remain intact and available to the general public now, time will tell whether local resources, both public and private, prove adequate to support it. The shear scale of the physical plant at many sites creates much of the drain on financial resources. Numerous historic buildings and acres of historic landscapes that need regular maintenance create expenses that often overwhelm even economically sound institutions. Ensuring the preservation of the buildings during tough financial times seems overwhelming. Ten years ago, in 1993, the National Park Service recognized the challenges that arise when historic sites have to abandon preservation efforts, reduce operations to regroup, or close. In 1993 the NPS issued a preservation brief that included detailed guidelines to "deactivate" a building and protect it from weather damage and vandalism. The brief put a pro-active slant on the "boarding-up" process, arguing that, with the site closed, administrators could concentrate on fundraising. Recommendations included stabilizing the exterior, designing adequate security systems, venting the interior, and implementing a maintenance and monitoring plan for as much as ten years. Staff at institutions that have closed, however briefly, have had to wrestle with such physically and mentally taxing responsibilities. 7


Children's garden at Gorman Heritage Farm

As Joyce Gardella observed in *History News*, Summer 2003, "being a 'Good Thing' is not the protection it once was. . . . cannot protect the position of your institution among others, much less justify an appropriation or, for that matter, your existence." The CNC could not generate enough financial resources to ensure the preservation of three properties in three different locations, each with structures and grounds that required considerable financial commitment to manage. Museums must make their constituencies realize how expensive the preservation and interpretation really is, but how the return on the investment can make them "rich" intellectually and experientially. The public must consider the museum "meaningful and a must." Anything less cannot result in long-term support. 8

Living history fits neatly into efforts to make history personal; no method allows visitors an opportunity to come "face-to-face" with the past in a way that promotes dialogue, but even the most recognized living history museums have realized how they cannot rest on their laurels. Since the mid 1990s several major living history museums including Old Sturbridge Village and Colonial Williamsburg have experienced reduced visitation and significant drops in revenue. Numerous factors combined such as alternative tourist/entertainment options, changing history requirements in school curricula, bad weather, post-September 11 anxiety, economic recession, reductions in expendable income, changing family lifestyles, etc. account for the slow-down. Colonial Williamsburg officials predict that the 2003 attendance will fall below 800,000 for the first time in four decades. The staff has responded with reduction and contraction strategies, but no fundamental changes in direction. Cost saving measures included closing Carter's Grove for "assessment and repairs" in early January 2003. 9

In contrast, The Henry Ford, Dearborn, Michigan, claims that it is the largest indoor/outdoor museum in the United States, and it draws 1.6 million visitors to its campus annually. The facility includes the 90 acre Greenfield Village, the 12 acre Henry Ford Museum, and an IMAX Theater, the Benson Ford Research Center, and tours of the Ford Rouge Factory. The institution engaged in a complete rejuvenation of Greenfield Village during 2003 with building relocation and interpretation review and refinement. The Village now includes seven "historic districts" through which visitors can gain information about "Main Street," "Working Farms," homes and neighborhoods, and transportation innovations. The extent of the reinterpretation would prove daunting for any but the largest indoor/outdoor museum in the nation.

Other major Midwestern institutions have also revitalized their living history through intensive interpretive revisions and site development. Conner Prairie, opened in 1974 and has expanded chronologically and conceptually in ways that has captured the public's attention. Counter to the trend at other large living history museums, between 1998 and 2002, visitation at Conner Prairie increased by 62 percent to 320,000, and membership increased by 57 percent, a result of reoriented public programming which directly involves visitors. Programming moved beyond the 1836 Prairietown to include an 1816 Lenape Indian Camp, the 1886 Liberty Corner, the "Follow the North Star" program, and weekend immersion experiences. 10

Yet, growth can put relationships at risk. On Wednesday, June 11, 2003, Douglas Bennett, the president of Earlham College, the institution that administers Conner Prairie, summarily fired 27 board members and the museum's president, John Herbst, on the grounds that the museum had operated with a deficit for three years. Conner Prairie board members countered that Earlham College had, in fact, misappropriated $30 million from the endowment that Eli Lilly had intended for museum use. The struggle over control has distracted and embittered staff, frustrated powerful Indiana businesspeople who supported the museum, and led to litigation. At risk -- the substantial endowment created by Eli Lilly during the1960s and early 1970s based on several gifts of Eli Lilly and Company stock to Earlham College with the qualification that Conner Prairie "be the money's 'first charge'." 11

The ambiguous meaning of Lilly's bequests allowed both parties, Earlham College and Conner Prairie, to come to different conclusions about the amount of available funds. Lilly did not portend Conner Prairie's future. No endower could accurately do so, but Lilly gave funds to Earlham College for use at Conner Prairie, and at Earlham College. No third party exists to either manage the funds or mediate disputes, thus causing a conflict of interest over the best use of the public charitable trust that Lilly established. How big did Lilly intend Conner Prairie to be, just a monument to an Indiana pioneer with a village representing settlement life, or a dynamic journey through nineteenth century Indiana? An investigation by the Indiana Attorney General, Steve Carter, begun in June 2003, continues with the goal to clarify the situation. In May 2004, Carter proposed a new governing structure for Conner Prairie that would include an independent Trustee of the public charitable trust that Lilly established. This trustee would be responsible for managing the trust for the benefit of Conner Prairie. Yet, Earlham College refused to relinquish the Lilly funds to an independent trustee. In September 2004, the Attorney General asked for more financial disclosures from Earlham College to document its 40 year management of the Lilly endowment. The outcome of the investigation could redefine assumptions about the permanency of donor's wishes and the long-term security of bequests. In the meantime, Conner Prairie continues its public programming despite the administrative battles, and continues to draw visitors. 12

Obviously the current status of living history museums and historic sites is not all doom and gloom if broad-based support exists. Several sites in Ohio and Illinois indicate the type of support necessary to preserve and interpret sites in the twenty-first century. Chrisholm Historic Farmstead near Trenton, Ohio, exists largely because of a close partnership between MetroParks of Butler County, which received the property in 1995, the Friends of Chrisholm, and the Butler County Antique Machinery Club. The farmstead has local, regional and national significance because of its relationship to an early Anabaptist farming and rural industrial complex. Historians of the Amish-Mennonite experience in the U.S. recognized the site's value. It and many properties in close proximity are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Regardless, local residents often do not understand the significance of the large brick house and bank barn on a hill overlooking the Great Miami River. Plans to build a power plant to serve the growing suburban region, just 28 miles northwest of Cincinnati, helped galvanize local preservation efforts. MetroParks of Butler County accepted the farmstead and 17 acres from Cinergy, the power company planning the plant's construction, in the mid-1990s. Just nine years later MetroParks opened Woodsdale Regional Park across the road from Chrisholm with plans to integrate the farmstead as the historic component into the new 119 acre regional park. The three distinct organizations involved in the site cooperate to raise funds for restoration and development, staff the site with paid and unpaid staff, and ensure the historic integrity of the site and the information conveyed. The relationship depends on communication and cooperation between the professionals trained in natural and culture history interpretation and the sincere, dedicated amateurs with a range of expertise. 13

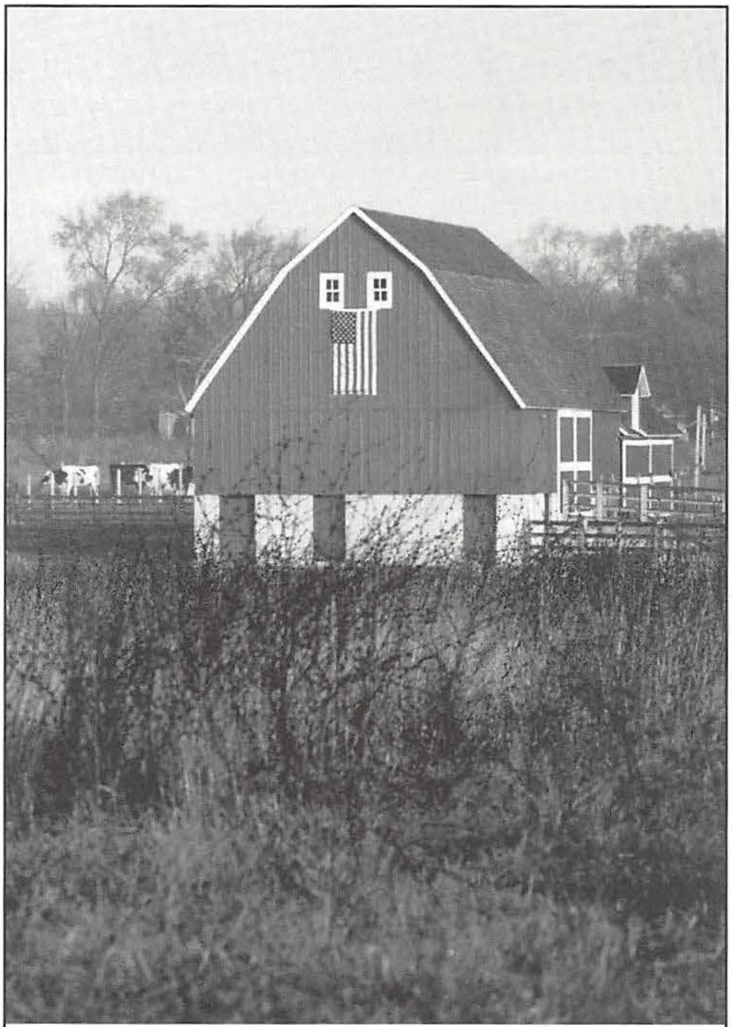
MetroParks of Butler County is one of numerous political subdivisions in the state of Ohio established by state legislators at the midpoint of the twentieth century. The empowering legislation, Ohio Revised Code Section 1545, authorized counties to create metropolitan park districts to preserve and restore natural areas within each county. In all instances, the probate judge in the host county appoints a three-member board of park commissioners. An early example, Columbus MetroParks began in 1945, and during 2004 it operates 14 facilities with 22,500 acres in seven central Ohio counties. This includes Slate Run visit Columbus MetroParks sites each year. Financial support comes primarily from a ten-year, $0.65 million tax levy approved by Franklin County voters in 1999. "The levy provides a sound financial base for operating and improving existing parks, as well as acquiring additional land for future preservation." Rather than depending on tax bonds, however, metroparks funding comes from diverse sources including individual and corporate donations, bequests and gifts. MetroParks of Butler County began in 1955 and exists to "enhance the quality of life in Butler County by acquiring, establishing, and managing a system of regional natural-area parks to preserve, restore, and protect the land, water, wildlife, and cultural resources contained therein and to provide for their appropriate leisure-time use and enjoyment by the citizens." In 1963, the Five Rivers MetroParks began to fulfill the spirit of Ohio law in the Dayton Area. Today, that metropark system includes Carriage Hill Farm, one of 23 facilities that it operates in the Miami River Valley. 14

Other state, county and municipal park and recreation areas throughout the Midwest have been active with historic preservation projects since their founding, and the number keeps growing. One of the earliest examples of public support for natural and cultural landscape preservation in Illinois began with the Forest Preserve District of DuPage County in 1915. It became the fifth forest preserve district in the U.S. at the time. Voters in the county cast ballots to protect against the removal of woodlands in 1915, and passed the first levy to purchase acreage in 1917. One of this district's six facilities, Kline Creek Farm, was purchased by the Forest Preserve District in the 1960s. It opened seasonally in 1984 and year-round in 1989. 15

A contemporary of Kline Creek, the Volkening Heritage Farm, is managed as part of the Schaumburg Park District. The Park District incorporated in 1963 as a local government entity completely separate from any other governmental authority, and it had the power to levy taxes. Among other facilities, the award-winning Park District operates the Spring Valley Nature center with the help of the Spring Valley Nature Club, a friends group founded in 1974. Work on the historic house and barns comprising the Volkening Heritage Farm at Spring Valley began during the 1980s, and the site remained a work-in-progress throughout the 1990s. The regional tax base provides major support to the site. 16

Christian Augspurger (portrayed by Carl Jantzen) poses with participants in the American Heritage Camp at Chrisholm.

Residents in Glenview, Illinois voted to create the Glenview Park District in 1927. It operated traditional parks and recreational facilities until 2000 when the District positioned itself to purchase land that encompassed the last working farm on Cook County's North Shore. The Wagner family, a German Catholic family, operated the farm from 1840 to 1997. The district devised an innovative tax bond initiative that linked farm fields with soccer fields. Residents approved $7.2 million for the Glenview Park District to purchase the threatened Wagner Farm property and develop it as a living history farm. The district acquired the property in



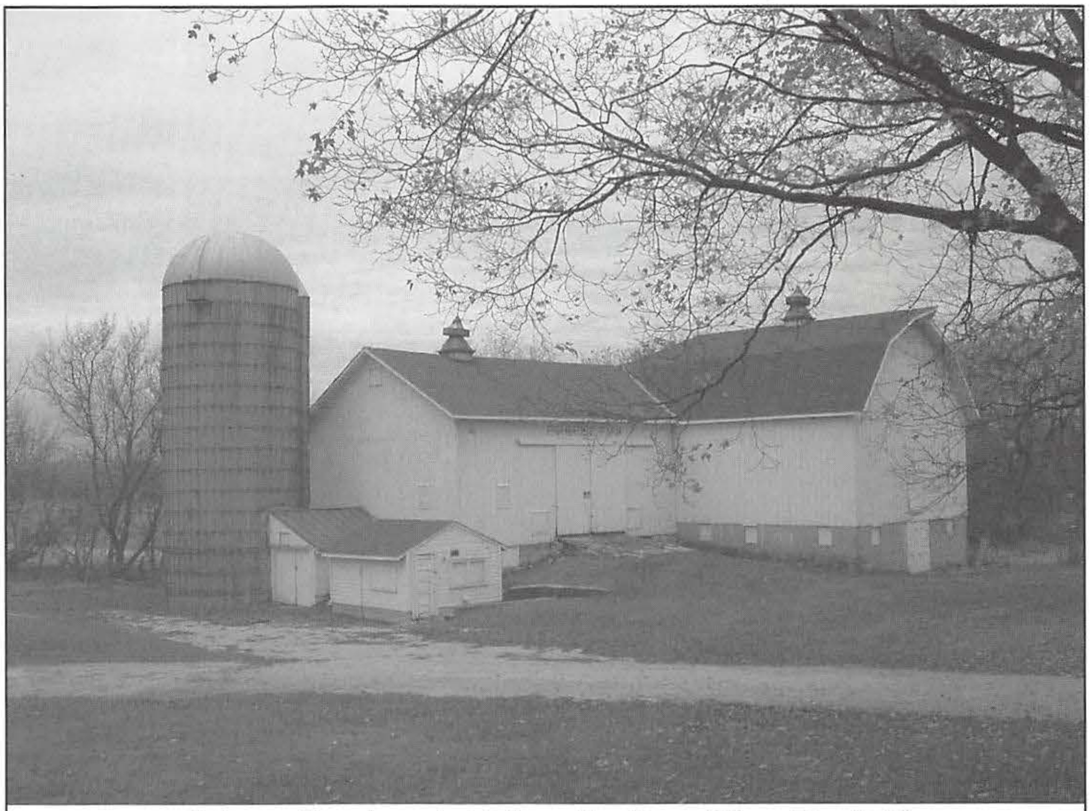
Glenview citizens voted to fund the purchase and presevation of their communities last farm in a 1998 referendum.

July 2000. The 18.6 acre site, under development as Historic Wagner Farm, already offers programs such as Dairy Breakfast, "Wee Folks" at the Farm, Oh, Horse Feathers! and Young Farmers, and has plans to focus interpretation on 1920s-1950s agriculture with an emphasis on 1920s truck farming, complete with a 1920s truck and costumed interpreters who will regularly sell produce at farmers' markets in the area.[17]

Wagner Farm offers programs that interpret the dairy/truck farming culture of Cook County, Illinois in the 1920's.

Most recently the St. Charles Park District has begun developing the Primrose Farm Park in St. Charles, Illinois. The award-winning park district, founded in 1911, has preserved more than 1,400 acres of wetlands, nature areas, woodlands and farmland in a rapidly developing county. While the district's normal programming focuses on recreational activities, the farmstead has caused the district to work with numerous program and preservation partners including the Kane County Forest Preserve District and the Primrose Farm Citizens' Advisory Committee to integrate the property into the district's programming. Primrose Farm Park includes the original 1860s Italianate farmhouse as well as a barn, silo, milk house, chicken coop and privy, and several other outbuildings. It will likely preserve the molded concrete architecture and the dairy focus of the 1930s farm family that operated it, and it will interpret the agricultural transitions that occurred during the twentieth century.[18]

Yet, private support remains critical to the preservation and interpretation of other living history farms in the Chicago area. Garfield Farm Museum, a property of the Garfield Heritage Society, LaFox, Illinois, originated as the result of a 163-acre donation of farmland in 1977, but farsighted museum officials and friends of the private non-profit raised $2.5 million and purchased 95 acres adjacent to the site in 2002, thus preserving a significant rural vista in rapidly developing areas forty miles west of Chicago as well as a farmstead to interpret nineteenth and twentieth century Illinois agriculture. They did so with the help of $500,000 from the Natural Resources Conservation Service's Farmland Protection Program, the first of its kind awarded to a non-governmental agency.[19]



Primrose Farm's central interpretive them of Transition & Change is illustrated by multiple additions to the 1860 threshing barn.

The evolution of living history museums resembles a roller coaster, but in addition to ups and downs, the ride includes twists and turns not for the faint hearted. Neither professional attitudes nor attainment of the highest recognition in the U.S. – AAM Accreditation and/or National Historic Landmark designation – can protect an institution from politics and political wrangling. And politics can make or break an institution, particularly as political entities become even more instrumental in their preservation and administration.

Many private non-profit institutions face rescission and closure, as Gorman Farm faced when the Cincinnati Nature Center de-accessioned it. Ironically, however, public entities such as state and municipal park districts are acquiring sites and expanding operations. Districts that previously focused on nature interpretation and recreational activities have become increasingly involved in historic and cultural interpretation. What accounts for simultaneous retraction and expansion?

First, the park districts and local agencies obviously see an opportunity to meet a public need for more informal education and recreation opportunities. And the evidence of the need seems to exist in the public's willingness to accept a new tax to support the venture. The success of tax bonds seems amazing given the deep-seeded abhorrence of taxes, among the majority of the United States population. While the bond issues help meet financial obligations, the levies alone do not fund the sites. The park districts assume a huge responsibility not only for maintaining highly regarded green space, but also for funding interpreters, living collections, and public programs that depend on research. Districts literally dump money into the historic sites that they save.

The districts do not find their motivation in tourism potential; they serve a local clientele, as do most local and county historical societies. The park and recreation districts do not operate the sites as revenue-generating ventures, either. Instead, as Peter Noll contends, the parks and recreation folk understand that suburbanites need something that is not suburban; they need a sense of place that is real or conjured but concrete. Park and recreation district staff realize that they have to make the sites relevant and provocative for the visitor. Otherwise they fail in two of the basic tenets of interpretation put forth by the guru of interpretation, Freeman Tilden. Yet, as the public becomes increasingly disconnected from nature and farming, it becomes increasingly difficult to make things relevant and provocative. Park and recreation departments have traditionally hired natural history interpreters and park managers to tell these stories, but managing the new sites require different skills, skills that history museum professionals are trained to deliver.

The history-minded individual can contribute substantially to historic site development in park and recreation situations, especially because such a need for a historic mindset exists. The clientele attending the sites seems so disconnected to the local history (or any history, for that matter). How does a displaced population affect mission and programming at a historic site? A useful study could look at how suburban residents adopt or adapt local history. Why do residents of Schaumburg, Illinois, need to go to Volkening Heritage Farm at Spring Valley, or even want to go? Is it because they want to learn about Schaumburg history, or do they just want to have a living history experience? Answers to these questions could help the rapidly growing number of suburban living history farms, historic sites, and open air museums approach programming and development more purposefully, and with the blessing of the public entities that fund them.

New historic sites emerge almost daily. These sites must be relevant to their parent institutions' missions and must NOT be financial drains. Otherwise they will someday face the same fate as other sites that close do to overextension, bad planning or mismanagement. Success begins with a clear vision of significance and relevancy. The staff bear the responsibility for defining the site's particular niche in the history museum/heritage tourism arena. Yet, the niche must allow for a range of provocative programming because the frequency of change at a site seems to relate directly to its popularity and potential to survive. The change must be purposeful and mission driven. The historical staff must keep one foot in the past and astutely interpret the historic record, while they also interact with the environment around them, anticipate the future and exercise sound fiscal management. They must adjust to political changes and lobby for public as well as private funds. Finally, they must communicate with constituents who know little about the past that the sites preserve, but who are interested in the programs that can help them become engaged in a new place. Sites must do all of these things to remain relevant, provocative and ultimately meaningful.

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[All links are current as of October 16, 2004. If any addresses do not work, use a search engine such as http://www.google.com, enter key terms from the title, and connect to the citation that way].

1 Dan Kurash, "Cuts Close Illinois Historical Sites Monday, Tuesday," *The Daily Illini Online*, published Tuesday, August 27, 2002, available via the back issue archive at: http://www.dailyillini.com

2 American Association for State and Local History, "Statement of Concern Supporting State and Local Historical Agencies," issued July, 2003. The statement was published in the Organization of American Historians' *Newsletter* (August 2003), the American Historical Association's *Perspectives* (September 2003), and remains available via the American Historical Association website: http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0309/0309aff3.cfm

3 American Association of Museums Accreditation Commission, "Considerations for AAM Accredited Museums Facing Retrenchment or Downsizing," issued August 28, 2003, available at: http://www.aam-us.org/programs/accreditation/retrenchment.cfm

4 Citations related to the campaign to save the Oliver Kelley farm appear in chronological order. Don Heinzman, "Intense Campaign is needed to save Kelley Farm," Commentary, EMC Publishers, Inc., Coon Rapids, Minnesota, posted March 27, 2003, available at: http://www.abcnewspapers.com/2003/march/27kelly.html; The National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, Action Alert, "Sign the Petition to the MN State Legislature and the MN Historical Society to Restore Funding for the Kelley Farm!," April 30, 2003, available at: http://www.nationalgrange.org/legislation/alerts_updates/2003/ActionAlert25.htm; Brandt Williams, "Budget Cuts to Close State Historic Sites," Minnesota Public Radio, May 20, 2003, available at: http://news.mpr.org/features/2003/05/20_williamsb_historicsites/. As the Minnesota Historical Society announced the closing of the farm, it was expanding facilities in Minneapolis-St. Paul with the opening of the Mill City Museum. "Mill City Museum Now Open in Minneapolis," September 14, 2003, http://www.millcitymuseum.org/mediacenter/news1.htm

5 Cincinnati Nature Center, http://www.cincynature.org/home_farm_gorman.html

6 Gorman Heritage Farm, previously a property of the Cincinnati Nature Center, near Evendale, Ohio, http://www.gormanheritagefarm.org/; e-mail correspondence between author and Sandra Murphy, October 16, 2004.

7 Sharon C. Park, "Mothballing Historic Buildings," Preservation Brief #31, National Park Service (1993). Available on-line at: http://www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/briefs/brief31.htm

8 Joyce Gardella, "Surviving the Perfect Storm: Branding, Positioning, and Differentiation," *History News* (Summer 2003), 22-25; quote pg. 22.

9 Sonja Barisic, "Williamsburg woes: Colonial past, modern-day downturn," *The [Champaign, Illinois] News Gazette*, September 21, 2003, E-9; quote from E-9. Catherine, Saunders-Watson, "New Auction in Sturbridge," *AntiqueWeek* (November 2003).

10 Gardella, "Surviving the Perfect Storm," 23.

11 Conner Prairie news coverage appears in the following selections: *Indianapolis Star*, June 12, June 13, June 14, June 20, July 13, 2003; *Indianapolis Business Journal*, June 23-29; June 30-July 6; July 28-August 3; and September 22-28, 2003. Maureen Hayden, "Battle Ground: How a Skirmish over Eli Lilly's Money Became a War for Conner Prairie's Soul," *Indianapolis Monthly* (October 2003), 118-121; 212-218; quote, pg. 215.

12 Indiana Attorney General's Office Press Release, "Attorney General Steve Carter Proposes a Governing Structure to Lead Conner Prairie into the Future," May 27, 2004, available at: http://www.in.gov/attorneygeneral/conner/timeline.html; In September 2004 the Attorney General requested financial records from Earlham: "Conner Prairie Must Hand Over Documents to Attorney General," http://www.topics.com/articles/0/037641-5220-088.html (accessed October 25, 2004); Results of Indiana Attorney General recommendations (press releases, proposed governing documents and legal documents) appear at: http://www.in.gov/attorneygeneral/conner/

13 Chrisholm Historic Farmstead, via the MetroParks of Butler County homepage: http://www.butlercountyohio.org/countyparks/chrisholm.htm

14 Columbus MetroParks, "About Us," http://www.metroparks.net/Default.aspx?page=AboutUs; MetroParks of Butler County homepage, "General Information and History," http://www.butlercountyohio.org/countyparks/info.htm; Five Rivers MetroParks homepage, http://www.metroparks.org/Facilities/facilities.html. This is not an exhaustive list of MetroParks in Ohio, of the historic sites operated by them, or of the partnerships that increase their viability. For example, Fallen Timbers Battlefield and Fort Miamis National Historic Site, operated by Toledo Area MetroParks, gained affiliate status with the National Park Service in 2000. Karen MacPherson, The Blade (October 28, 2000), available at: http://www.heidelberg.edu/FallenTimbers/PressArchives/FTBlade10-28-00.html
Lest we forget, MetroParks in the Midwest are not the oldest. The MetroParks of Tacoma, Washington, began in 1907 as an effort between the municipalities of Tacoma, Dash Point and Browns Point to manage parks and recreation areas. See "About MetroParks," http://www.metroparkstacoma.org/about/default.view Regardless, Ohio may have been one of the earliest states to legislate for the creation of such separate political subdivisions.

15 For information on the Forest Preserve District of DuPage County see: http://www.dupageforest.com/INFO/info.html

16 "Volkening Heritage Farm," *Midwest Open Air Museum Magazine*, 24, no. 2 (2003), 22-23.

17 Glenview Park District, Fall 2003 program guide, pg. 64; Glenview Park District homepage, facilities, and scroll down to Wagner Farm for information. http://www.glenviewparkdist.org/

18 Primrose Farm Park, a property of the St. Charles Park District, and part of the Primrose Service Center: http://www.st-charlesparks.org/links/facilities.htm

19 Garfield Farm brochure, no date; "Garfield Farm Museum," *Midwest Open Air Museum Magazine*, 24, no. 2 (2003), 22.

The Evolution of Halloween
in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Carol Smith, MOMCC President

Halloween has become the second most popular holiday in America today, right after Christmas. Is it any wonder that so many living history sites have been pushed to have some sort of special event around that time. One answer is to do something that ties in with Halloween's modern day traditions. Sure, it will bring in attendance and visitors will enjoy it. But.... did it meet our mission statement to interpret the history of Wisconsin during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

This was the dilemma that faced Old World Wisconsin, a living history site in Eagle, Wisconsin. The site is a large one with 276 acres and represents nine of the different ethnic groups that settled in Wisconsin. The time periods represented range from the 1850s to the 1920s.

We had no documentation about Halloween and how it was or was not celebrated in Wisconsin. In our search there was a great variety of stuff on the internet, most of which was of little to no help. Fortune was with me however, as I learned that The Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee was planning an exhibit on Halloween. A visit with their curator gave me the start I needed through the objects and documents she had to support the exhibit. A search through period magazines and Wisconsin newspapers gave me the primary support material. I also came across a few well-researched books that have recently been published on Halloween.

We designed an event based on the games and activities that were discovered and the ethnic connections, all of which have impacted the evolution of Halloween into what we know it as today. We ran the event for the first time in 2002. The visitors and the interpreters had a delightful time although the attendance was not overly large. This year the event was again held with the attendance doubling. I encourage anyone considering a Halloween event to take a look at the wealth of potential programming opportunities that exist in interpreting the evolution of Halloween.

Part 1

The American holiday of Halloween, like many other American holidays, has evolved over time and has been impacted by the many different traditions and beliefs that came with the various ethnic groups that settled throughout the country. A look back at some of these influences gives us a better idea of how the traditions and customs that we celebrate today have developed.

Some people believe that the Druids, who were the priests of the western Celtic tribes, are the founders of Halloween, tracing the celebration on October 31 to their pagan rituals and beliefs. However, every ethnic group that came to America brought with them their superstitions and beliefs about ghosts, witches, faeries, or goblins and their fears about things that they couldn't explain. Over time these beliefs merged and changed until it was hard to separate one from another. Today our modern Halloween celebration still contains many symbols and activities that our ancestors would recognize.

Early Influences

Research is unclear as to the exact origins of Halloween. Nicholas Rogers in his book, Halloween: From Pagan Ritual to Party Night notes that the etymology, or origin, of the word "Halloween" is Christian. He defines Halloween as a popular derivative of "All Hallows Even", thus the word, "Hallowe'en." Halloween then was the eve of All Saints' and All Souls' Day which was celebrated with a mass called Hallowmas, to honor the Saints and the newly departed.

Other speculations say that Halloween is rooted in the Celtic pagan holiday of Samhain. When Christianity tried to replace the pagan beliefs, the Catholic Church tried to do away with pagan holidays by creating the Christian festivals of All Saints' and All Souls' Days to replace them. Yet because aspects of the supernatural connected to Samhain never completely disappeared, still other researchers have said that it is possible that Halloween evolved from a combination of those pagan roots that Christianity was not able to eliminate and some of the newly evolving Christian beliefs.

It is important to look at these different factors to get a clearer understanding of how all the parts fit together. We will look at two pagan celebrations that are believed to have played a role in the origins of Halloween. The Roman feast of Pomona, the goddess of orchards and harvest, and the Celtic festival of Samhain (pronounced sow-an or sow-in), which meant Summer's end. (Keep in mind that the Celtic tribes extended across much of Europe and the British Isles in the pre Roman and pre Christian periods).

Celtic Samhain

Anthropologist have noted that the Celtic festival of Samhain is significant as a liminal or borderline festival since it took place between the autumn equinox and the winter solstice, marking the division between summer and winter, light and dark. Samhain was traditionally a pastoral and agricultural festival that took stock of the summer's resources in preparation for the coming winter with great feasting and celebration. It was also considered the beginning of a new year for the Celtic tribes. This communal feast was shared with the dead as one way to help link people with their ancestors and the past. The Celts believed that on the eve of Samhain, the ancestral ghosts and demons were set free to roam the earth. Since spirits were believed to know both the secrets of the afterlife and the future, the Celtic priests, the Druids, believed that predictions and omens made that night had more power and were clearer to read than any other night of the year.

> On one autumn night each year, the fires of Druid priest burned high upon the Irish hillsides while Celtic tribesman prayed that their sun would not wane and disappear over the winter. In Wales, each member of a family marked a white stone and threw it into the hot ashes of a bonfire before going to sleep; if any of the stones were missing by morning, they believed that a death would surely occur before the next Halloween. Scottish farmers lit torches made of braided straw and marched deosil (with the sun) around the perimeters of their land to ward off witches and bring fertility to the fields. And in old Brittany, families put out warm pancakes and cider for dead souls to eat when they rose from their cold barren graves to visit their homes before the coming of winter.

Roman influence

Before the birth of Christ, the Celtic lands were conquered by the Romans and many of the Celtic Samhain practices merged with Roman beliefs in mythology or were forgotten. Like the Celts, the Roman too focused on harvest festivals. The orchard festival celebrating Pomona, the goddess of orchard and harvest was especially important. Her feasts focused on apples, nuts, grapes and other fruits. To the Romans, apples were a sign of love and fertility, and the use of apples and nuts in our modern Halloween may be connected to this Roman autumn celebration. Many of the divination games from England, Ireland and Scotland used apples and nuts to make predictions about one's future spouse as will be discussed later.

All Saints' and All Souls' Days

Roger's book, *Halloween: From Pagan Ritual to Party Night*, however, cautions that Samhain, while it may give to Halloween a supernatural charge and be a liminal festival, did not offer actual ritual practices, except the fire rites. Instead he states that most of the rituals that we recognize today were developed in the medieval celebrations of All Saints' Day on November 1 and All Souls' Day on November 2. These festivals to commemorate the saints and the recently departed emerged about 800 A.D as an attempt by the Catholic Church to reduce the hold of pagan beliefs. Many pagan beliefs were reinforced through popular festivals such as Samhain and were not easily dispensed with. Rather than banning the pagan festivals, which were so popular, the church created new festivals on or close to the days of the old pagan celebrations. This by the end of the twelfth century the festivals of All Saints' or All Souls' Days had been linked to Hallow's Eve in England and Europe and were well established liturgically in the Christian calendar having replaced Samhain.

Upon closer investigation we can see that the festival for All Saints' and All Souls' Days contained some similarities with the Samhain festival. The connection with ghosts was a strong theme. For instance, the requiem masses for All Saints' Day were considered insurance against being haunted. Ghosts were believed to be dead relatives who visited their kin to settle wrongs done against them while they were alive and to enforce the bonds of kinship. Flowers and food were put on the graves of the dead and bonfires were built in the graveyards to keep away evil spirits. The prayers of the living were believed to have influence over the future state of those who had died.

All Souls' Day had another tradition called "souling" that is also important to the evolution of Halloween. This ritual involved beggars going from door to door asking for food in return for a prayer for the dead which is similar in principle to our modern day trick or treating. These beggars often carried a hollowed out turnip lantern whose candle represented a soul trapped in purgatory. As might be expected, souling was less about prayers for the souls of the departed and more about providing food for the poor as winter set in (Rogers, 2002).

But All Saints' Day had another connection to modern Halloween as well. In addition to honoring the saints and martyrs of the church, the All Saints' Day liturgy also referred to the Biblical reference of "the wise virgins awaiting the coming of the bridegroom." Rogers reflects that this statement anticipated forthcoming marriages that would replenish the Christian flock. This reference, he says, was mischievously interpreted by groups of singers or entertainers, usually male, who mockingly copied the behavior of unmarried young women by wearing their hoods up and parading in the streets. Rogers goes on to say that it was these behaviors that formed the beginning of the masking, impersonation, revelry, and mumming which continued during November and December. All Hallows Eve was closely associated with role reversals, shaming rituals such as charivaris (shivarees) against those who had violated community norms, and a community acceptance of the mischief done by young men. In other words, it was the beginning of what we refer to today as Mischief Night. Yet, until the 18th century, However, Rogers says, the carnival-like qualities of Hallowe'en were balanced by the solemn task of honoring the dead on All Saints' and All Souls' Days with vigils at grave sites and offerings of food and clothing for the recently departed (Rogers, 2002, p. 24-27).

Protestant Reformation

With the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, All Saints' or All Souls' Days came under attack as popish doctrine. Many of the new religions were determined to eliminate all such rituals that supported the idea of a need for an intermediary between humans and Christ. Still many of the old Hallow's Eve customs of honoring the dead were continued in rural areas, even in those areas that embraced the Protestant Movement.

By the middle of the 17th century many of the religious customs associated with All Saints' and All Souls' Day had died out. Yet the belief in that date being a time of great supernatural intensity continued. The 18th century saw the name change to Halloween and a continuation in the belief that ghosts, spirits and witches freely roamed the countryside that day and especially the night before. Many rituals and superstitions revolved around warding off witches or evil spirits by burning candles or torches and using objects and incantations that were believed to carry power (Rogers, 2002).

Divinations and Revelry

Along with the rituals against evil spirits, Halloween also continued to be an important time for divinations or omens regarding the future, particularly in the British Isles. These prophecies were used to predict misfortune and death, as well as marriage. They usually took place within or near the home and were mostly followed by young women. Most of the young male activities revolved around masking and revelry (Rogers, 2002).

Guy Fawkes Day

Another influence in the development of Halloween was Guy Fawkes Day. In England, by the mid 1700s, this celebration of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, had become firmly established as a popular holiday. Celebrated on November 5, it was a day of national deliverance from Catholicism and was known as Guy Fawkes or Bonfire Night. Because of its close date to All Hallow's Eve, many traditions crossed between the two holidays. Guy Fawkes Day celebrations featured bonfires, hollowed-out turnips lanterns with grotesque faces, and mischief night. Instead of souling for food, boys begged for coal to burn their effigies of Guy Fawkes. Revelers felt they were beyond the law and high spirits and pranks were accepted as part of the celebration rituals. In England Guy Fawkes Night bypassed Halloween in importance (Bannatyne, 1990).

Meanwhile in Scotland and Ireland, celebrations of Halloween were largely untouched by the Protestant Reformation. The folklore connected to Halloween flourished, even returning to some of the older pagan customs. In both countries there occurred a blending of Christian and pagan beliefs with a combination of Halloween and All Souls' and All Saints' Days. By the 18th century, Halloween superstitions and activities were being translated into courtship games and rituals along with the continuation of connections to the changing seasons and the agricultural cycle.

Vodoun

Another factor to consider on the evolution of Halloween, is the influence of voodooism, whose origins stem from a religious magic system practiced by python worshipers in West Africa. Its early influence came to the Caribbean and America via the black slave trade. Additionally, during the early 19th century many Haitians and Cubans fled to New Orleans strengthening the practices of voodooism, especially in the South. The terms "voodoo" or "hoodoo" as used in the United States, encompass a mixture of magical and traditional religions, including French Catholicism, African worship of the serpent god, Damballah, and a combination of Latin American Catholicism, and the Yoruba religion that worshiped Chango, god of fire and stone. Here again is a combination of pagan and Catholic beliefs that created a folklore similar to European Halloween lore; both based on magic and the supernatural. During the 19th century Vodoun beliefs combined with European folklore producing some very spicy Halloween mythology rich in spirits, divinations and witchcraft and dealing with the ancestral dead (Bannatyne, 1990, pp. 85-86).

Part II
Halloween Comes to America

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Europe faced many social, religious, and economic problems. With industrialization and advances in medicine, living conditions, and food production throughout Europe, many countries saw an increase in population and shortages of jobs and land. North America became the antidote. It became a land of opportunity causing waves of people from Europe and the British Isles to immigrate in search of a better life. "By the time of the first United States federal census in 1790, there were nearly 3,637,900 Europeans in the former colonies" (Bannatyne, 1990, p. 21). Initially, most were British, although there were people from all parts of Europe and Africa. Thus, the emergence of any type of celebration of Hallowmas or other fall festival depended upon the religious preferences and folklore of each new settlement.

East Coast Settlement

The New England Puritans rejected any and all holidays, although ironically many relied on magic, in addition to religion, to help in their everyday lives. Fortune telling and divinations were heavily used by young Puritan girls. For them, marriage and housekeeping were the only escape from their parent's home. Consequently, who they were to marry was of extreme importance to them. As might be expected, the spiritual leaders condemned these practices as heresy, but perhaps the girls were girls first and Puritans second. It has been suggested that this obsession with divination and also vodoun might have led to the infamous New England witch trials and the subsequent death of a number of women (Bannatyne, 1990).

The Dutch who settled in New York brought a love of festivity and revelry. The Germans and Swiss, who were major influences in Pennsylvania, brought spiritual and folk traditions, especially magic and witchcraft. Maryland was settled by Catholics who brought the Saints' days, including Hallowmas. In the south, Virginia was represented by members of the Church of England who celebrated both Saints' days and old English folk holidays. African blacks, Spanish Catholics, and Scotch-Irish Protestants brought beliefs and folklore founded in magic, sorceries, voodoo, and fortune telling that added to the evolution of Halloween in America (Bannatyne, 1990, p. 21 &34).

Even with all these traditions and rituals, Halloween did not become strongly established in North America until the 19th century. Lesley Bannatyne in her book, *Halloween, An American Holiday, An American History*, says that harvest get-togethers called "play parties" were the precursor to Halloween in America. These included public community socials such as corn husking, sorghum making and apple paring parties that had a secular rather than a religious focus. Early to mid 19th century task-oriented activities provided a means to both get work done and an opportunity to socialize. Ghost stories were an important part of these play parties as were dancing and fortune-telling games. These gatherings provided the opportunity for sharing information and gossip and a meeting place for young people (Bannatyne, 1990, pp. 53-56).

Apples and nuts, having just been harvested, became part of the games and food for these socials or play parties. From the British Isles came the term "Snap Apple Night" for the night of October 31. The name came from an old game that required a person's hands to be tied behind their back, and then using only their mouth, try to bite an apple tied on the end of a string. The name, as well as the game, was carried into parts of America as people began moving westward. A more daring variation was to place an apple and a lighted candle on each end of a stick, which was then hung from a string and spun. Here the idea was to bite the apple without getting burned by the candle or covered with the melted wax. Other games involving apples were played too. Apple dunking was a way to find out who would marry first. Whomever could snag an apple floating in a bucket of water without using their hands would be wed soon. The seeds and peel of the apple were also used to make predications about one's future mate.

Nuts, too, played a role in early Halloween activities. In some places October 31st was called "Nut Crack Night." In areas where chestnuts, walnuts, or other nuts were plentiful in the fall of the year, they too became the focus for games of divination. One of the more popular games was played as follows. Two nuts are named, each for a potential suitor, and put on a grate in the fire by one wishing to know her future. If a nut burned steady, the lover will be faithful; if it pops in the heat, the man would not be trustworthy (Bannatyne, 1990, pp. 56-57).

Irish and Scottish influences

The Irish and Scottish immigrants formed a large part of the population in mid 19th century America and Halloween became a festival that served as a marker of ethnic pride and identity for them. As early as 1864, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* mentions that the Scottish citizens held a Halloween party. The newspaper description says, "The festivities were not, perhaps, strictly according to Burns' description in Hallowmas E'en [Poem by Robert Burns], but were very pleasant nevertheless" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 1, 1864. p. 1).

Again in 1867, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* gives a description of Halloween as a Scottish holiday explaining to the readers that, "...it is a time above all others when supernatural influences prevail. It is a night set apart for a universal walking abroad of spirits, both of the visible and the invisible world; ... Divination is then believed to attain its highest power and the gift of calling spirits from the vast deep becomes available to all who choose to exercise the privilege" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 31,1867). The article mentions bobbing for apples, looking in a mirror, and an apple and candle on a stick. (All are games of divination). By describing the practices followed by the Scottish, the newspaper article gives background information to those not familiar with the traditions of Halloween. The follow-up article the next day mentions nothing about the divination practices, but rather states that there was a magnificent oyster supper and dancing that took place at the affair.

Irish immigrants also had a strong influence on Halloween in America. Between 1825 and 1845 more than 700,000 Irish Catholics immigrated to the United States as a result of several potato famines. A large majority settled in cities along the East coast, but many were swept up in the westward expansion taking their folk beliefs and traditions with them where they were eagerly received by other settlers. The Irish immigrants brought both the Catholic traditions of All Saints' and All Souls' Days as well as the pagan customs of Sanhaim. "The excitement and romance of knowing one's future mate were Halloween's primary attraction in Ireland" (Bannatyne, 1990, p. 71). Young women anxiously gathered together, often at midnight, to try divination activities with apples, fire, mirrors, and yarn in hopes of learning who their future mate might be. Halloween was believed by many a young women to be the one day of the year when the devil could be asked for assistance with the future without dire results.

Likewise, young men gladly accepted the idea of a night of masked revelry going from house to house with a carved-out turnip lit with a candle, blowing horns and drinking strong ale. On this night, pranks and mischief were allowed and even sanctioned by the community. The custom of masking or disguising oneself to practice mischief and beg for food, money, or drink from neighbors was being practiced in other European countries as well. Scandinavian countries for instance, followed similar traditions, but instead of a night of mischief at Halloween, they used Christmas or Easter as their period of accepted revelry. In America, it was the similarities of these practices that allowed the customs and traditions to merge so well. Consequently, American play parties as a result of a variety of ethnic traditions became enriched with new symbols and traditions forming the roots of our modern day trick or treating (Bannatyne, 1990).

The Irish and English also brought the tradition of carrying a light made from a turnip or beet. This represented any mysterious light that appeared out of nowhere and disappeared in the same way. Called jack-o-lanterns, will-o'the-wisps, or corpse candles, they were believed to be the souls of the dead wandering forever and could lead men astray. There are many stories to explain the origins of these will-o'the-wisps. The Irish claim the story of Jack and his exploits as the first. When the Irish came to America they were delighted to replace pumpkins for turnips because they were so much bigger and had more carving potential. To this day pumpkins, carved into scary faces and called jack-o-lanterns play an important role in Halloween (Bannatyne, 1990, pp. 66-80).

German and Scottish-Irish in Appalachia

In the early 1800s the Germans and Scottish-Irish formed a large part of the westward migration into the Allegheny and Appalachian mountains. As they settled and intermarried they established a rich cultural heritage of beliefs and superstitions. The German's strong belief in witch mythology when combined with the Scottish belief of spirit lore created a potent combination of superstitions and stories. The German fairy tales written by the Grimms family in the 1840s exemplified the European influence in witch lore that was brought to America. What emerged as Appalachian witch lore most strongly resembled the German's European heritage of vivid and sensational witch mythology. A common trait of German witch tales were stories of sabbath meetings and magic rhymes such as "Over thick and thin, and away we go." The emerging Appalachian witch tales often displayed these characteristics and show the persistence of old-world witch lore.

Halloween as a celebration of the supernatural lost much of its impact in the 19th century, but beliefs in witchcraft and superstition continued to play an important role in everyday life. Witches were to become an important symbol in 20th century Halloween and the backwoods Appalachia stories and tales played a role in her evolution (Bannatyre, 1990, pp. 80-81).

African American Influences

Nineteenth-century Southerner's occult beliefs also had a strong influence on the development of Halloween in America. Their superstitions included the ancestral dead, witches, black cats, and even jack-o-lanterns. Much of the strength of these symbols was the combination of similar beliefs from white Europeans traditions, particularly those from England, Scotland,

Continued on page 42.

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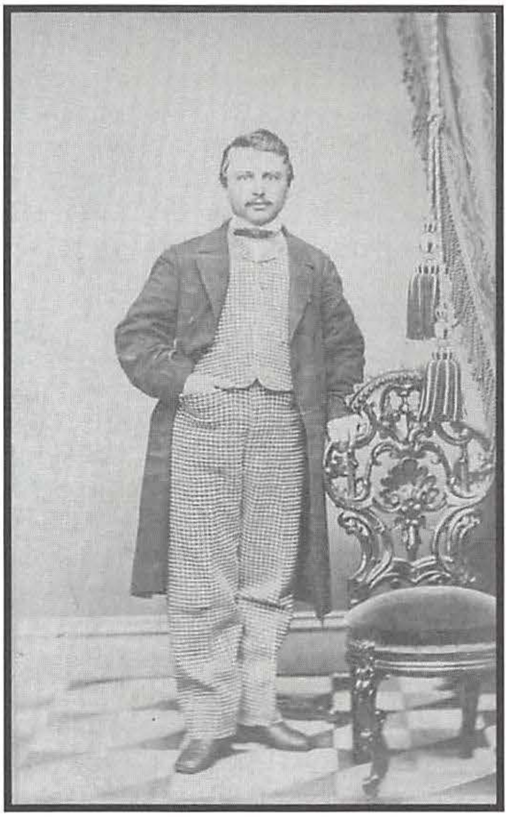
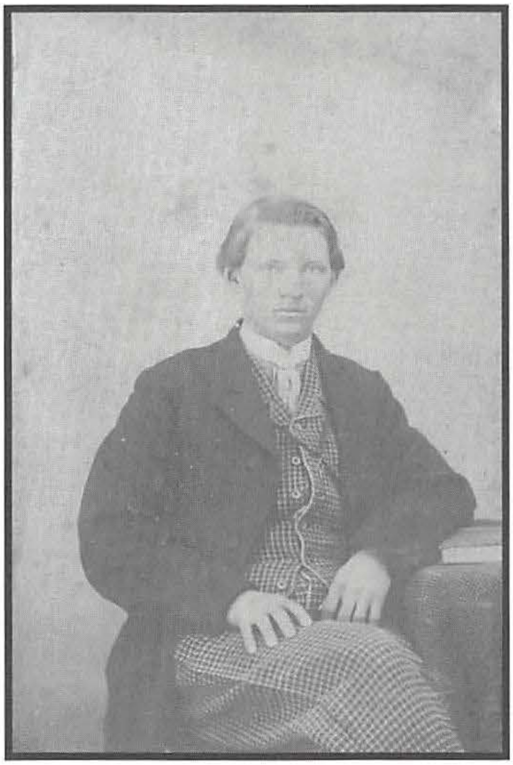
Edited by

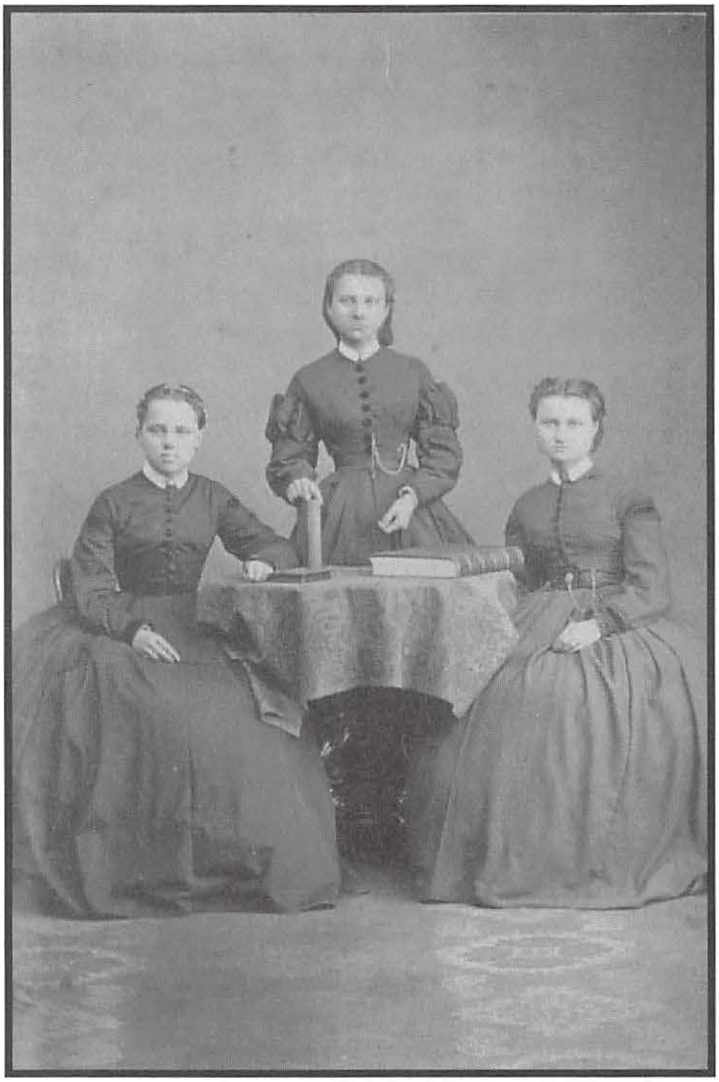
All photos are from the collection of the Stephenson County Historical Society in Freeport, Illinois.





These two young men are sporting some fabulous checked vests and trousers. c.1865-1870

Pictured are three ladies in similar dresses from the mid 1860s. Notice the slight variation in sleeve style of each young woman.



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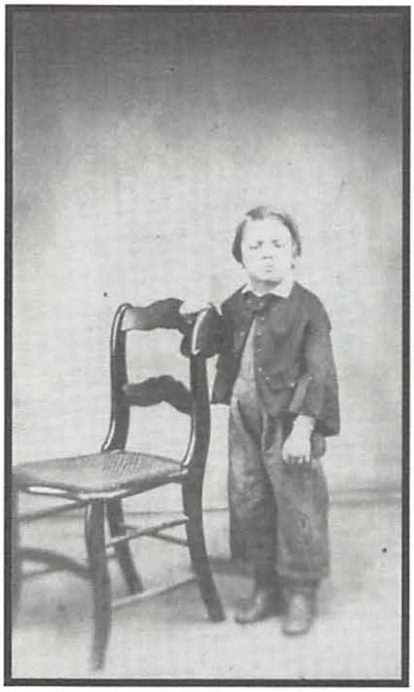
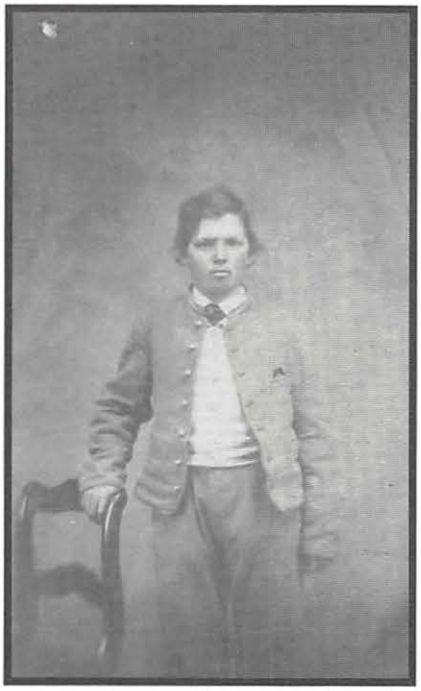
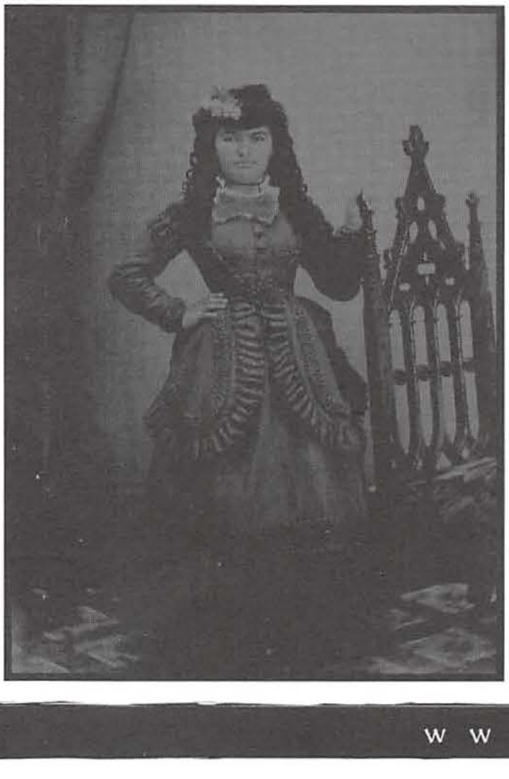


These two images from the mid 1860s show some great variations in young men's clothing of the time period. These two photographs were likely taken in the same studio based on the chair each boy is pictured with.

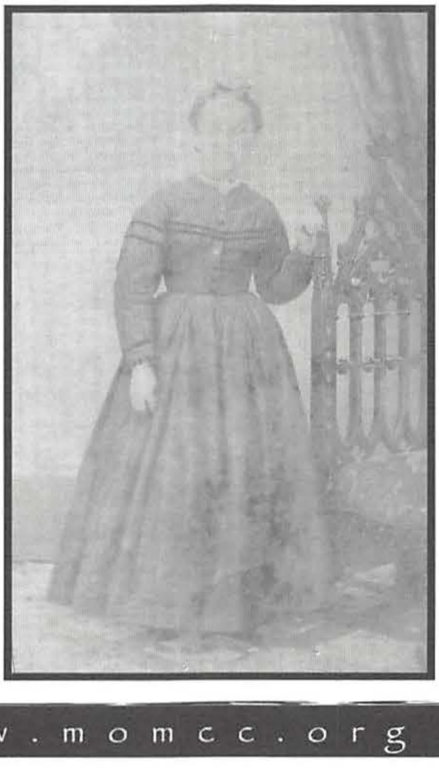


Notice in the pictures below, the similarities in the photographer's props. The gothic chair and ingrain carpet are identical in the two tintypes. The carte de visite (center) could possibly be the same studio although the pattern on the chair cushion looks different.

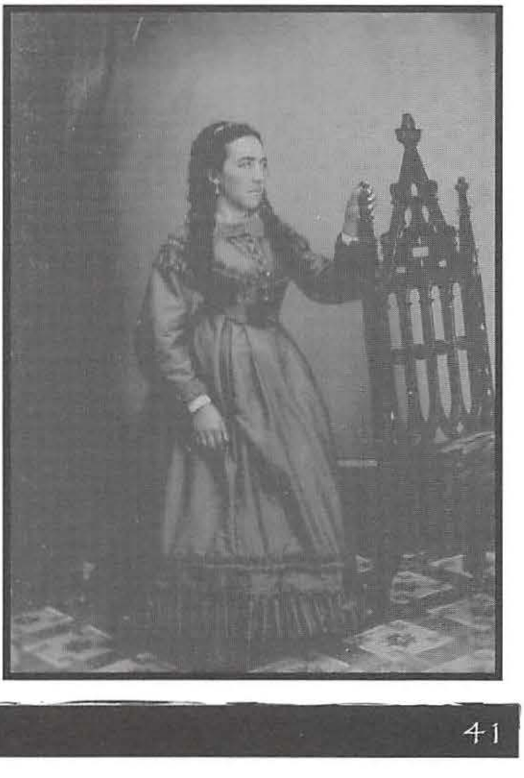
This hand tinted tintype is from the late 1860s into the early 1870s. Notice this young ladies' finely decorated hat, large bow, and the wide array of ruffles and trim on her bodice and skirt.



This carte de visite of a young woman is typical of the mid 1860s.



Another hand tinted tintype probably late 1860s.



and Ireland and the black slave culture. One reason that southern blacks held onto these superstitions longer than their white neighbors was due to the inequalities of the southern education system. For much of the 19th century white children had access to books and learning, while blacks did not. As a result the superstitions and belief in the occult within the black community continued through oral traditions long after the white Europeans had turned to other less spiritual aspects of the holiday (Bannatyne, 1990, pp. 83 - 84).

Halloween Symbols

Other symbols that we are familiar with in our modern Halloween celebrations were not symbols associated with Halloween in the early America period. Black cats, bats, and owls did have a strong association with magic, witchcraft, evil spirits, and predictors of death, but were not early Halloween symbols. They found their way into Halloween through 19th century Gothic fiction through writings like Varney the Vampire (1847) and Edgar Allen Poe's The Black Cat (1843). While American Black culture in the 19th century showed a strong belief in black cat lore, especially the power of a black cat's bone, it was connected with superstitions and conjuring rather than Halloween. It is easy to see how these symbols fit right into the developing image of Halloween (Rogers, 2002. p.77).

With the growth of American cities and the exploding westward expansion, beliefs, and traditions in the occult from every ethnic group became mixed together. Throughout America, divinations regarding a future mate or predictions for one=s future became one of the most important functions of Halloween. The fall play parties absorbed these new activities and became a new type of party that did not always require a work-related focus. Another important aspect was a community-sanctioned night of revelry and pranks by young men. This functioned on an almost parallel path, becoming a popular part of the celebration. The beliefs and traditions of the Irish, German, Scottish- Irish, English, and African immigrants have had the largest influence on the development of the American Halloween so far. With the Industrial Revolution and the rise of more middle and upper class families, Halloween was about to change its look.

Part III

Victorian Halloween

About the 1870s, beliefs regarding Halloween divinations and superstitions began to change. American Victorians viewed themselves as modern, rational, and genteel. They were a society impressed by the new inventions and current theories of the day, such as the telephone and the writings of Darwin. The old uneducated superstitions and folkways of their ethnic forebears were looked down upon. The *St. Nicholas Magazine*, written for children, describes the current thinking well in its November, 1874 article entitled, "Legends and Superstitions."

All superstitions are foolish. To fasten a horseshoe to the door to procure good-luck, or to throw salt over the shoulder to prevent ill; to be glad to have first seen a new moon over the right shoulder; or to be sad to be sitting 13 at table; to turn twice around before setting out a second time; to frame a mental wish after speaking simultaneously the same words with another, are practices unworthy of our day, making children of grown people and fools of boys and girls. Religion is one thing; superstition another. The two are opposites. The former pays honor to God; the latter does homage to Ignorance (Bannatyne, 1990, p. 99).

The October 30, 1873, Milwaukee Sentinel issued a lengthy article on Halloween entitled "Halloween, Its Origin and Superstitions -- The Prevailing Night for Supernatural Influences; Queer Customs Regarding Its Observation." Interestingly, the article copies the exact wording used to describe Halloween in its 1867 issue as referenced earlier in this paper. However it went one step further by describing in detail many of the games of divination played by young people.

It is only in the last paragraph of the article that the reporter states that the customs just described are fast going into disuse. He laments the fact that this is happening by saying, "We have so few holidays in the United States that we like to see Holy Eve maintained with some hilarity; but of course no one admits to the insignificance of the amusing mummeries with which it is associated - no one we mean, whose education in this age of enlightenment has lifted him above the [stolid] traditions that controlled our great grandmothers" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 30, 1873).

Halloween Redefined

Yet Halloween did not disappear, instead the Victorians preserved Halloween in their own unique way. They brought it into society and reinterpreted it as quaint rustic practices of the English and Scottish that could be celebrated with parties, with the old games to be played for fun alone. Articles describing the genesis of Halloween appeared as historical pieces in children's and ladies' magazines. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1886, printed an article entitled "Halloween: A Threefold Chronicle" which gives a detailed history of Halloween, attributing the celebration to the Teutonic (German) and Celtic races. The Irish, Scandinavians, and Scottish, the article implied, brought to the holiday celebration, "only wild legends and superstitions, which any well educated person knew were foolish and had become obsolete in this modern day (1886), but the good fellowship, the laughter, the nut-roasting, the apple-ducking, the candle-singeing, ought long to be associated with the 31st of October" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1886, p, 843).

Newspapers did the same in the 1880s and 1890s. Halloween, it was stated, was a holiday brought to America by the Celtic races, but was being preserved as a source of entertainment and fun rather than a belief in superstitions (Bannatyne, 1990). Articles in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* also reflect many of these same opinions. On November 1, 1884, November 4, 1886, and October 31, 1889, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* described parties held by the St Andrew's Society, a Scottish organization, who commemorated Halloween with songs, readings, and playing the old games like bobbing for apples, purely for entertainment. The November 1, 1889 issue covered a Halloween entertainment also held by the British American Society. Nowhere in any of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* issues prior to the 1900s was there any coverage or acknowledgment of what the Irish were doing to celebrate Halloween.

In fact, there was a strong push in the United States to divest Halloween of its Irish Catholic connections. Editorials in the papers blamed Catholicism for the breakdown in American moral structure. Instead of the Catholic connection to All Saints' Day, the Victorians maintained that All Saints' Day was an Episcopalian celebration which hailed from the Church of England. This was a much more acceptable origin to them than an Irish heritage. The October 31, 1880 issue of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* likewise credited most of the origins of Halloween to a connection with the Anglican and American Episcopal Church's celebration of All Saints' Day, mentioning Ireland only once as the origin of a game of divination.

For both the middle and upper class Victorians, "Halloween needed to be subdued, to be made safe for the adults and children of America; a holiday not concerned with death or destruction, witchcraft or walking dead, but with entertainments and games that could pass muster at any social party; a holiday not of Irish Catholic origin, but of quaint Scottish or old English descent; a holiday not for the lower classes, but for the upper classes" (Bannatyne, 1990, p. 105). Women's and children's magazines of the 1880s and 1890s printed pretty pictures of fairies and witches along with articles on how to give a Halloween party; what decorations, food, invitations, and activities to use, further suggesting that the parties were meant for young unmarried youths as a social gathering.

Again, in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of 1884, 1887, and 1890, a description is given of Halloween parties held by individuals in the city indicating that, at least in Wisconsin cities like Milwaukee, the idea of Halloween as a form of entertainment was being followed. The *American Girls Handy Book*, written in 1887, also gives directions for giving an All Hallow's Eve party. Here, too, the games are the traditional ones of divination, such as 3 Luggies, Roasting Nuts, and Bobbing for Apples, to mention a few from the listing. The authors, Lina and Adelia Beard, however, clearly state their opinion regarding their belief in superstitions by saying, "...we desire our reader to appreciate and fully understand that we are far from wishing to inculcate any superstitious belief in the power of charms to forecast future events; that we regard all fortune-telling as nonsense, pure and simple, and only insert it here, as we would any other game, for the sake of the amusement it affords" (Beard, 1887, p.189). It is interesting to note that almost every later 19th century journalist writing on Halloween activities makes a statement similar to the one made by the Beard sisters, declaring that beliefs in superstitions are obsolete. It makes me suspect that many young women of the day took seriously some of these superstitions on finding a future mate much to the dismay of their elders.

As might be expected, with Halloween's growing acceptance as a social event, commercial venues opened. Grocers and merchants cashed in on the holiday, offering shoppers a wide variety of nuts, apples, and other seasonal choices. Little booklets like *Hallowe'en, How To Celebrate It* by Martha Russell Orne published in 1898, were sold for $0.25. In the booklet, Orne describes how to host a Halloween party. "Invite only unmarried friends, married couples are rather de trop on such occasions; and especially avoid all formality" (Orne, 1898, p.7). The booklet gives a 19th century perspective on the history of Halloween and is filled with directions for both traditional games of divination like snap apple, the 3 luggies, and the mirror and candle divination, as well as some newer alternatives. Like the Beard sisters in the above paragraph, Orne also cautions readers that these games are just for fun and entertainment and should not be taken seriously. There seems to be a concern by adults that youth playing these games would believe that they could predict the future. Perhaps the real fear was that to believe in divinations was outside the boundary of proper Victorian behavior.

Mischief Night

Much harder to track was what rural folks were doing to celebrate Halloween. Little is written about parties or celebrations in rural areas, but what does appear in the newspapers is reference to October 31 being a night of mischief and revelry. The idea of revelry and mischief seem to be a different, yet parallel part of the Halloween celebration. The origins of revelry on Halloween comes from the traditions of mumming and misrule that were practiced in Europe and the British Isles as described earlier.

It is interesting to note that many countries had traditions of mumming, but some like the Norwegians and Finnish held them during the Christmas season rather than at Halloween. Even in early America, mumming and revelry were a major focus of Christmas, especially for young working class men who used it as a chance to get back at their superiors with raucous behavior, noise, and expectations of free food, drink or money. In the early part of 19th century America, the domestication of Christmas as a family holiday brought about an end of Christmas mumming. This left Halloween in the position of being the only holiday that condoned a night of mischief and an inversion of social norms. A night when mischief was allowed without consequences (Rogers, 2002).

Rogers, in his book on Halloween traditions, comments that there is little evidence of the outdoor activities of Halloween during the Victorian period. He says that with the convention of respectability followed by most middle-class households, it would have been improper for middle-class youth to roam about the streets in guises. This activity was more likely to occur among the working-class, especially males. Revelers were normally given a "special license" to be merry on Halloween, and the public normally respected the tradition (Rogers, 2002, p. 57). Neighborhood pranks were very much a part of this night-time festivity. The list of tricks could include rooting up vegetables from backyard gardens, unhinging gates and shutters, tipping over outhouses, pulling down signs and fences, piling cabbages on doorsteps, and ringing church or school bells. In rural areas, farm implements and wheeled carts might be found on top of roofs the next day (Rogers, 2002).

While there were always those who complained about the mischief, the police gave revelers a wide berth until the end of the 19th century. In 1902 *The Daily Herald*, a Chicago newspaper circulated into the surrounding countryside, described Halloween tricks committed under the shade of darkness as cowardly and advised readers to "load their muskets or cannon with rock salt or bird shot and when the trespassers invade your premises at unseemly hours... pepper them good or proper". Most communities however tolerated youthful pranks as long as no serious trouble occurred.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* covered the sentiments of people in different parts of the state and their response to this night of mischief. "The celebration of Halloween has grown to be a nuisance of late years in this country," says an article in the November 4, 1881 paper. An 1889 edition notes that Wauwatosa had a night of merry making among the young folks of the village. "Besides several informal social gatherings, quite a number of merry young people, some being in masque, formed parties for the purpose of celebrating Halloween in the customary traditional manner" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 3, 1889). The article describes the mischief as consisting of bell ringing, sidewalks torn up, a shop window broken, signs misplaced, etc. There seemed to have been some humor involved; as the article described the undertaker's sign appearing at the front door of the saloon and the Congregational Church sported a For Sale sign. The paper says that some took it with good humor while others grumbled about the pranks.

Likewise Halloween in Waukesha in 1889, also had bell ringers, cabbage fiends, and beans being thrown at windows to tease inhabitants. A party and supper were also mentioned as being held in one home indicating that both aspects of Halloween were being practiced in Waukesha (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 3. 1889).

Mischief on College Campuses

While mischief making and pranks were going on in local communities, the holiday of misrule was also being followed by university students. According to Rogers the years 1884-1920 were when college students appropriated Halloween for their own purposes. They used revelry to haze freshmen, marched on theaters to play tricks and make noise, razzed their superiors, and generally thumbed their noses at all authority. Rogers goes on to say that there is no evidence that college students had any bond or connection with the working class revelers. In fact, if the college students went beyond the campus, they on occasion met trouble from community revelers (Rogers, 2002).

Wisconsin college students seemed to have fit Roger's model as exemplified by Beloit College. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* of 1884, 1887, and 1889 mentions that Beloit students participated in mischief making activities such as setting an outbuilding on fire, hanging effigies, and destroying sidewalks. The sentiment expressed in the newspaper is that little damage was done, indicating an acceptance of this behavior. An 1889 article stated that the common council of Beloit ordered a full quota of policemen to be placed on duty Halloween night as a means to stem some of the vandalism. The results were almost perfect order by the students. Evidently, the next day there was quite a bit of disgust on the part of the students when they discovered that there were only 3 watchmen that night instead of a huge core of police (Milwaukee Sentinel, November2, 1889).

"The raucous observance of Halloween by students at the turn of the century nonetheless points to... the emergence of the holiday as a fixture in the North American calendar" (Rogers, 2002, p. 67). The adoption of Halloween by college students in the last two decades of the century Rogers contends, was a good measure of Halloween=s acceptance by town socialites. This elite sponsorship helped move Halloween into the category of an American custom accepted by all, rather than only an Irish or Scottish tradition celebrated by a few (Rogers, 2002).

Into the Twentieth Century

Our look at mid 19th century celebrations showed us that, even in Wisconsin, Halloween was still being regarded as a predominately Irish or Scottish festival; one observed by immigrants or first generation Irish or Scottish descendants. However, by the 1880s and 1890s, nationally circulated magazines, as well as Wisconsin newspapers, provide a clear indication that the idea of celebrating Halloween with social parties that used the old divination activities and games was an opportunity for young unmarried men and women to get together. And was acceptable, as long as it was clear that no one but the most rural and ignorant would believe any of the old superstitions and legends.

"By the first decade of the twentieth century, Halloween was being celebrated from coast to coast by a wide variety of groups, native and immigrant, rich and poor, black and white, Protestant and Catholic" (Rogers, 2002, p. 74). Although the Halloween traditions arose out of religious origins, both pagan and Christian, by the 20th century it had become a secular festival whose supernatural divinations had been turned into social games of fun and entertainment. The traditions associated with All Saints' and All Souls' Days had basically disappeared.

Similarly, the original division of the holiday activities had been divided by gender. The domestic or women's activities centered around games of divination and fortune telling, while the male side was connected to the outdoor world of revelry, pranks, and masking. It remained this way throughout most of the 19th century.

By the early 20th century, Halloween was becoming a more peer-group holiday. Church groups, high schools, and civic clubs began to take over the domestic side of Halloween by holding parties and dances. Booklets and magazines like the *Ladies Home Journal*, *The Modern Priscilla*, and *The Housekeeper*, produced directions on how to give parties for children, young adults, or even married couples (Rogers, 2002).

Companies like the The Dennison Crepe Paper Company published yearly booklets on Halloween. Called *Bogie Book* that sold for $0.05. The booklets offered party givers ideas and suggestions on everything from decorations to costumes to menus and favors, all using crepe paper of course. One published in 1912 and one in 1916 provide pictures for the products that were available and illustrations of what the finish result would look like. Halloween parties had reached a peak in their social status both in terms of entertainment and commercial value.

Along with the revival of fortune-telling rituals as party entertainment, the illustrated picture postcard appeared portraying romantic images of Halloween traditions. These wildly popular and inexpensive postcards helped define the early 20th century's image of Halloween with their colorful and lively images of all the symbols of Halloween intertwined with romance. A 1915 example displays a beautiful young women holding a large friendly-faced jack-o-lantern in her arms; seated at her feet is a black cat; candles burn along either side of the card; and smiling witches' heads float in the air like balloons. Across the top is written, " A Happy Halloween," while the verse across the bottom reads:

"A Pumpkin Head I Would Like To Be
If In Your Arms You Would Take Me"
(Arkins, 2000, p.15)

The postcard illustrations were not meant to be scary, but rather to lend a merry air of mystery and romance. They also affirmed that Halloween was an accepted holiday for everyone (Arkins, 2000).

By the 1920s there were many ways to celebrate Halloween outside the home as Halloween became more commercialized. For the upper class there were parties at country clubs, hotels, and mansions. For others it was possible to go to the theater to see a Halloween-related show, or attend a party at a church social, town hall, or hospital. Schools especially celebrated Halloween with parties (Rogers, 2002).

The real issue for the 20th century became, how wild would Halloween become. Rogers says, that the convention of rascality that invigorated turn-of-the-century Halloween took a long time to die. The appeal of Mischief Night was the temporary freedom that it gave young men to defy social convention and they were not willing to easily give that up.

The activity of "trick or treating" was originally suggested as a means of stemming the vandalism of mischief night. It was introduced as a formalized activity in 1939 and gained momentum in the 1950s. Community-minded citizens thought that setting aside the night of October 31 for trick or treating would turn the tide of mischief night destruction into more appropriate childlike behaviors, while still allowing the festivities of masking and playfulness that were considered central to mischief night. What did happen, was that younger children would dress up in elaborate costumes and visit houses begging for treats, while their older brothers would follow the old traditions of revelry such as tipping over outhouses, destroying fences, removing gates, smashing street lights, and so forth. With the introduction of the automobile, it too became an object for destruction. Revelers soaped windows, deflated tires, and bounced cars. The public began to protest these activities more and more (Rogers, 2002).

Conclusions

The scope of this paper does not allow a discussion on much detail about the evolution of Halloween beyond the 1920s. Certainly, Halloween continued to evolve and change right up until the present and a further study of that period would be of interest to many.

The customs of Halloween still continue to change, reflecting the time in which it finds itself. It is one of the few American holidays that stands alone outside of any institutionally sanctioned-holidays. As a holiday, Halloween, owes its allegiance to no one, neither state, federal, church, or school and as a result does not need to justify itself to anyone.

It is a holiday with two sides, the idyllic and the social inversion. While it can provide space for cultural diversity, pranks, and social misrule, it can also push community intolerance of things that cross the borderline. Tales of razor blades in apples, Halloween murders, and violations against the homeless or special community property are examples of behaviors that have pushed the limits of tolerance in the past. Halloween has moved far beyond its origins, yet as a borderline, liminal festival, Halloween continues to allow social inversion behaviors, providing an opportunity to poke fun and mock the extravagancies and pretensions of our modern world (Rogers, 2002, p. 172).

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In Their Own Words

Signs Revisited: Farmers' Almanacs and Folk Beliefs in the 1950s

by

Joe Anderson

I recently came across two articles that reminded me of Dr. E. Duane Elbert's contribution to this magazine, "Signs: Living By the Almanac" (No. 3, Volume 21, 2000). Dr. Elbert reminded us of the importance of the signs of the zodiac to rural societies and provided a useful guide to the meanings of the zodiac and moon phases. Most importantly, he argued that "the display and use of an almanac at living history sites can be a valuable interpretive tool."

The following perspectives from *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead,* a popular farm publication targeted toward Iowa readers, provide further information and context to complement Dr. Elbert's article. These articles from 1955 and 1957, based on Gallup polls conducted by the magazine, demonstrate how folk beliefs of the pre-industrial world persisted in an atomic age. Specifically, younger farmers or those with more formal education tended to be more skeptical of folk beliefs. It is also possible to see the tension in farming between folk wisdom and the demands of production agriculture during a "cost-price squeeze" in which the prices farmers paid for goods and services out paced prices they received for commodities.

◆

Farm by the moon?
Poll quizzes farmers about value of planting crops by the almanac

"Do you believe that some crops grow better if planted during a certain phase of the moon?"

"Silly question," scoffed a Marshall county, Iowa farmer when the Wallace-Homestead Poll asked him.

"I don't plant in the moon; I plant in the ground," chuckled another from Louisa county, Iowa.

But an older Mahaska county, Iowa farmer replied: "I wouldn't plant a thing any other way---only by the moon signs."

Farming by the almanac is much less common than it was 50 or 75 years ago. But the latest Wallace-Homestead Poll indicates that "moon farming" didn't pass on with the horse and buggy---not entirely, at least.

More than one-fourth of the farmers questioned---29 percent---said they believe crops grow better when planted according to the moon phase. Five percent were undecided. And 66 percent---or two out of three---said they didn't believe in it.

Younger farmers were less likely to believe in moon farming than were older ones. Here's the breakdown:

Age	Yes	No	Undecided
20-34	19%	75%	6%
35-49	27%	70%	3%
50-over	38%	56%	6%

Of course, not all the farmers who said they believed in moon farming practice it. A Wright county, Iowa, farmer commented: "Yes, I think there's something to it. But I never practice it. Have to plant when time and weather permits."

Education seemed to make some difference, too. Here's how farmers answered, according to amount of schooling received:

Schooling	Yes	No	Undecided
Eight years or less	37%	55%	8%
Nine years or more	29%	65%	6%

So you might conclude that popularity of farming by the almanac will continue to drop---as younger farmers with more education move into the business of farm operation.

Seriously, what about moon farming? Is it fact or fancy? We asked Dr. Gerald Barger, climatologist, Iowa State College.

There's no experimental evidence to support the argument for planting crops during a certain phase of the moon, Barger says.

"Good seed, proper seedbed preparation and fertilization, weed and pest control and a little luck with weather will assure your bumper crop---not a phase of the moon," Barger declares.

Scientists are agreed that the moon has no effect on weather. But they admit that the appearance of the moon sometimes is a reliable weather guide. That's because the looks of the moon depends on the atmosphere, conditions of the sky, etc.---not because the moon controls the weather.

But moon farming has continued to exist for years without encouragement from scientists. And it influences livestock programs on some farms, too.

For example, a young farmer from Louisa county, Iowa, said he didn't think it was necessary to plant crops according to moon phase. "But I know that castrating or weaning is much better when the moon is right."

Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead, July 16, 1955

To foretell weather

Does a ring around the moon mean a storm? What about other signs?

Are old sayings any guide to the kind of weather that is coming? The Wallace-Homestead Poll asked farm operators in Iowa about four statements of this kind. See how you would vote.

Here is the first saying: "The first killing frost in the fall usually comes with a change of moon." Farmers voted this way:

Agree	52%
Disagree	19%
Undecided	22%

Younger farmers as a group were more skeptical than older ones. A young man in Carroll county said: "I don't pay any attention to those old weather signs."

Yet on the question above, there wasn't much difference between age groups. There was a difference between men who had gone into high school and those who hadn't. Grade school men were more apt to vote "agree."

The second saying: "A ring around the moon means a storm is coming." Farmers voted like this:

Agree	58%
Disagree	25%
Undecided	17%

Older farmers---50 years and over---voted 66 percent to agree with this. Younger ones---20 thru 34 years---were 55 percent in agreement.

A farmer in Muscatine county commented: "I believe a ring around the moon means a change in the weather. But it doesn't have to be a storm."

The third statement was: "If the birds fly low, it means rain." On this, farmers voted as follows:

Agree	28%
Disagree	34%
Undecided	38%

A young farmer in Kossuth county remarked: "That's what we always say. But I never watch the birds."

On this statement, older farmers, as usual, gave the biggest vote on agreement. But the birds didn't score high with any group.

The fourth statement: "When the sun sets red, it means a fair day tomorrow." Here is the farm vote:

Agree	71%
Disagree	19%
Undecided	10%

This weather sign got a bigger approving vote than any of the others. Age groups voted about alike here.

In every instance, the folks who had not gone beyond eighth grade gave the weather sign a bigger approving vote than the men who had gone into high school or beyond.

Yet in every case except one---the statement about birds flying low---both groups gave more approval than disapproval to the "old sayings."

Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead, June 15, 1957

Joe Anderson is a graduate student in the Agricultural History and Rural Studies Program at Iowa State University and volunteers at Living History Farms, Urbandale, Iowa.

Evaluating Authenticity
A Critical Look at International Living History Sites

by Nupur Tomar

"Layer upon layer, past times preserve themselves in the city until life itself is finally threatened with suffocation; then in sheer defense, modern man invents the museum." [1]

Lewis Mumford, The culture of cities, 1938

Aim of the paper:

This paper aims to develop a novel operational approach to evaluate authenticity in open-air museums by articulating the value of buildings and whole site as per the defined aspects of authenticity. The term authenticity has been in discussion for many decades in conferences and workshops throughout the world but has never been evaluated in practical terms. A methodology to do so will be presented in this paper.

Authenticity in some senses is immeasurable as it contains subjective elements, but in this research an attempt has been made to configure the information and assess selected sites with respect to five dimensions of authenticity by scoring each building on the site. The scores of the individual buildings are then summed up to provide a perspective on the authenticity of the museum.

Introduction:

There has been ongoing debate on the interpretation of authenticity for open-air museums, since 1891. There have been antithetical views presented by public historians and the professionals of open-air museums since the inception of this type of museum. These living history museums have been criticized as places artificially manifesting the past, as a "simulacra," that is the image and not the reality by Robert Hewison [2] on one hand, and Antonia's description of these sites as "museums of ways of life" [3] on the other. There is a need to examine and explore this act of representation of the past life in these museums, with due regard to authenticity.

Authenticity and Conservation in Open-air museums:

Open-air museums are 'museums of buildings' which bring the past to life [4]. They recreate old traditions in a living environment and express a relationship among culture, nature and the built environment. Open-air museums are institutions interpreting life as material culture in the context of buildings, objects and open space. They can be defined as a site or facility that interprets history through exhibits, living history interpretation and educational programs. They are 'museums of buildings' on the original site or an assemblage of buildings on a new site expressing the social and cultural past of a region or community. They perform the prime task of conserving the endangered cultural and architectural heritage of a place, region or community so that they can be bequeathed to future generations.

Conservation is not just keeping the material, but recognizing the spirit, the non-physical essence and authenticity of the heritage, its relation with the society. The concept of authenticity in conservation is equally essential if the correct identity of both the culture and its physical evidence is to be manifested. [5] The built environment, which consists mainly of historic buildings, is a reflection of culture and the evidence of history, thus when conserved should depict both the factors in their true perception. Conservation must preserve and if possible enhance the messages and values of cultural property.[6] Cultural conservation is a new paradigm that has emerged in recent decades, reflecting new approaches to thinking about heritage conservation. This new paradigm redresses the problems that arose out of the heritage protection measures of the 1960s and 1970s which designated three arenas of action: "1. nature (natural species and ecosystems); 2. the built environment (historic and prehistoric artifacts, buildings, sites); and 3. folklife/culture (living artistic expressions and traditional communities and processes). [7]

Editors Note: This paper was originally presented at the Spring 2004 Conference hosted by Conner Prairie in Fishers, Indiana.

Maintaining authenticity of the culture should be the first task. When this is achieved it assures the conservation of the built environment but when only the built environment is intended to be preserved it may not serve as a true reflection of the culture. These open-air museums should ensure that the correct message is imparted to the visitor. In the ICOMOS conference of 1994, Jukka pointed out that even if the principles of conservation are followed on to the sites or in open-air museums still the result could be rather artificial or even kitsch. 8 This necessitated the task of defining authenticity and assessing the different aspects of authenticity. The formulation of the international conservation principles in 1964 made the creators of the open-air museums more aware of the conservation issues and helped them acknowledge the importance of creating these museums as grounds for effective conservation of past cultural life rather than mere collections of buildings. The value of authenticity had been more sincerely acknowledged which in turn helped the professionals at the open-air museums, living history museums and heritage parks in understanding that stimulating and effective depiction of the past can be achieved by maximizing authenticity in presentation in conjunction with in-situ conservation, relocation or reconstruction. The concept of authenticity in conservation is essential if the correct identity of both the culture and its physical evidence is to be manifested. Stovel in the Preparatory Workshop held in Norway in 1994 mentioned, "it would be useful to understand the thinking of the World Heritage Convention's custodians in the late 1970's when the Convention's Operational Guidelines were first articulated the need to ensure sites met the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship or setting." 9 Authenticity is an essential aspect of the cultural heritage and can be tested in regard to these manifestations, beyond the adherence to the conservation principles. The Preparatory Workshop held in Norway in 1994 discussed the issue of authenticity and its lack of definition in the Venice Charter. This resulted in the following model of aspects of authenticity:

Form/Design,

Material/Substance,

Function/Use,

Context/Setting/Spirit

Technique/Tradition/Customs 10

Effective conservation requires clear identification of the manifestation of the values - the particular patterns, relationships, elements that support or carry values - and the application of the test of authenticity to these, to clarify the extent to which these values are whole and genuine.

Application:

At the international conference held in Norway on authenticity in relation to the World heritage Convention, different aspects were discussed to measure the authenticity. In this research a method has been proposed from an interpretation of these above-mentioned features to provide a comparative scale to assist in evaluating authenticity in selected sites.

1. Authenticity of form / design:

Herb Stovel mentioned at the international conference in 1994, "Authenticity may reside in the outward form. This form may be original or a later evolved form, depending on the values for the site. Determination of authenticity would reside in design qualities assumed or suggested by those forms. These qualities may relate to the organisation of spaces and architectural elements, as well as the organization of the elements within designated structural or other functional systems." 11

Application of the test would require definition of the form that should be respected when relocated or conserved or recreated on these open-air museums. The design first proposed with the particular spatial organization, architectural elements and the outward shell, has to be the rudimentary definition and the basis of evaluation.

The various (20 each) buildings of the three selected case-studies in this paper will be evaluated against this variable in the following way:

Low: 3-5: *Criteria:*
The buildings will be rated low if the same form/design which was initially envisaged by the designer is not shown when relocated or conserved on site or if the building is a replica. The replica might have the same design (spatial layout, external and internal design including shell as walls, doors and windows, architectural elements) but being a copy of the original will be rated low.
Medium: 6-7: *Criteria:*
Any building relocated or conserved on site with a modified design to accommodate a new/old function.
High: 8-9: *Criteria:*
Any building relocated or conserved in situ with the same form will be regarded highest.

Authenticity of material and substance:

Stovel mentioned, Authenticity may reside in using original material when conserved or relocated. The physical fabric of structure or sites is the principal carrier of cultural messages. For buildings, material authenticity can be manifested in surface finishes, the working of craftsmen, the patina of age and the substance of constituent materials including the internal molecular organization. 12

The evaluation of a building or a cultural landscape (town) in regard to this dimension of authenticity was scored as follows

Low: 3-5: *Criteria:*
Any building with use of new (material different from the kind originally used) material.
Medium: 6-7: *Criteria:*
Any building which uses the old kind of material which was used for construction in earlier times but produced recently by different method as evident form the conducted research.
High: 8-9: *Criteria:*
Any buildings which still have the same fabric which was originally there before relocating then it's regarded as high. Also the building repaired using the old material produced recently. For example a birch wood roof is repaired with birch grown elsewhere but clearly indicating the effort to match the old material will be regarded high.

Authenticity of function:
Authenticity may reside in the degree of retention of original patterns of the use of buildings as seen in the respect of the aims and intentions of the building conceivers.

When original use becomes obsolete then it could be measured by looking at the later changed functions requiring the same spatial arrangement.
It will be checked as the determination of the fidelity of the current use to what may have been original intentions.

Low: 3-5 : *Criteria:*
Any building now undertaking a new function with a change in spatial organization.
Medium: 6-7: *Criteria:*
Any building still possessing an old function and a certain degree of change in design.
High: 8-9: *Criteria:*
Any building relocated or conserved onsite which retains the same use. The building relocated or conserved on the museum if it has gone through multiple changes in pattern of usage before relocation then the one with maximum evidence if conserved will be scored high.

Authenticity in context / spirit:
According to Herb Stovel, "Authenticity can reside in the degree to which relationship between a site and tangible environment may be defined. These relationships may have several forms - relationship between a particular site and its immediate surroundings, between a site and the patterns of use that have characterized the surroundings over time." In my research, the context with respect to each building is attempted to be measured in regard to two variables as 'macro'-relationship of building with respect to whole site (new or old) and 'micro' as the relationship of the building with respect to buildings and landscape its immediate surrounding (old or new site, original or recreated environment). A third consideration could be the interior of the building.

The open-air museums have to accommodate a varied collection over a large span of time so they require a large piece of land (may or may not be having original buildings) where they can easily demarcate different eras with buildings as in their original setting. As when a building is relocated its eroded from its original place of birth which even otherwise would have changed with time, authenticity in context can be tested as whether an attempt have been done to re-establish that connectivity on the new site. This connectivity is not only the re-establishment of the old relationship of building with immediate surrounding landscape but with in itself and with other buildings. In one of the recent conference held at Hungary in 2001 M Cseri emphasized on the historical-ethnographic authenticity by which he means the authenticity and professional triple unity of the material-structure-technology, the liveliness and originality of the interiors and the authentic villages cape and landscape. 13

In the case of Skansen the site selected by Arthur Hazelius was a garden established on a hill top overlooking the whole of Stockholm by a merchant named John Burgman which appropriated for an open-air museum in the heart of Sweden. The site of Beamish open-air museum was away from the city with original farmsteads and mines, which provided the opportunity to establish an industrial open-air museum.

Context regarding the surroundings could be re-created but also the effort should be made to show a harmonious contextual relationship amongst different buildings in same area.

Low: 3-5: *Criteria:* Any building which doesn't exhibit the same surrounding atmosphere on this new site as per its new location in regard to old location.

Medium: 6-7: *Criteria:*
Any building which doesn't exhibit the exact earlier situation as per the new relationship but the historical evidence agrees with the possibility of this relationship to exist.

For example the Alvros farmstead in Skansen, the three different buildings are from different time periods and three different functions but the historical research shows the probability of them been arranged together to make a farmstead in earlier times.

High: 8-9: *Criteria:*
Any building depicting an original context in the museum site with its neighboring buildings, as existed in past on this site or elsewhere. For example: the in situ buildings (the yellow house) and the relocated furniture factory of Skansen.

Authenticity in technique and traditions:
In the discussion held at Norway in 1994, "This kind of authenticity may reside in the degree to which the traditions which has given rise to, or helped maintain the form and use of particular sites have remained intact and retained the integrity."

In my research this kind of authenticity will be regarded as follow up of the old prevalent techniques to retain the outer form, design of the building (in situ or re-located) and even the whole site in these open-air museums.

Herb Stovel said "The measurement of authenticity of tradition first requires articulation of the particular traditional techniques which have contributed to a site's cultural significance. Measurement of their integrity requires measurement not just of the degree of change over time, but the degree to which traditional processes have successfully adapted and continue to adapt to changing circumstances."

Low: 3-5: *Criteria:*
any building conserved or relocated with the application of entirely modern techniques will be regarded low.

Medium: 6-7: *Criteria:*
Any building which uses some new techniques to repair or relocate as on the pretext of extinction of old technique or unavailability of craftsmen to undertake the task, also at the same time unable to explain or provide an evidence for the old techniques for reference and visitors will be graded medium.

High: 8-9: *Criteria:*
re-constructing or re-erecting with old techniques or having new adapted techniques with full documentation.

For example: Weald and Downland open-air museum very well documents the old construction technologies in each of it's building so all of them are graded high in this indicator.

Research method and Results:

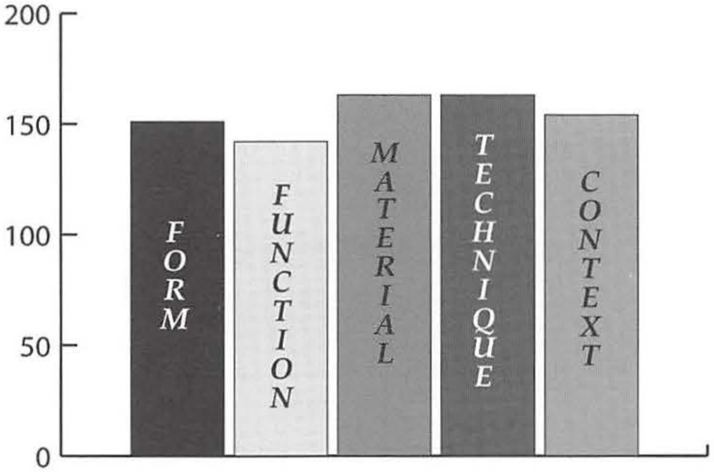
1 Asses 20 buildings of each site(Skansen, Beamish and Weald and Downland) on discussed criteria for evaluating authenticity in 5 aspects.

2 Score the buildings

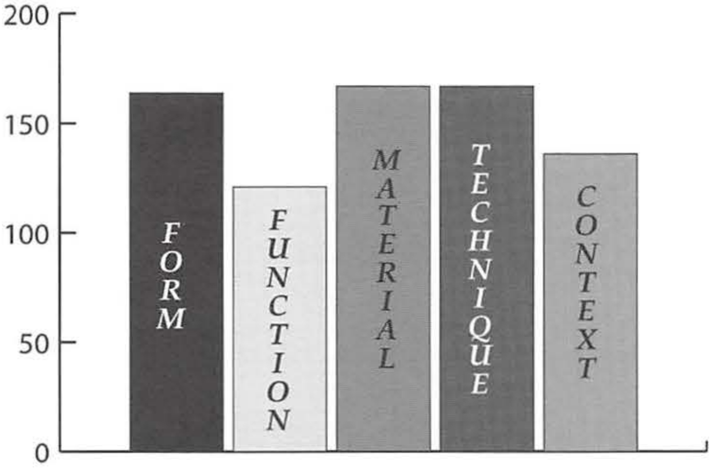
3 Sum all buildings

4 Establish total and average scores on 5 indicators

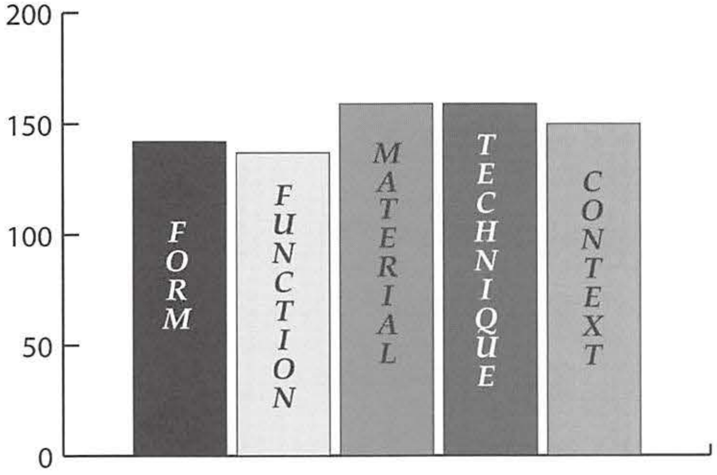
Skansen:



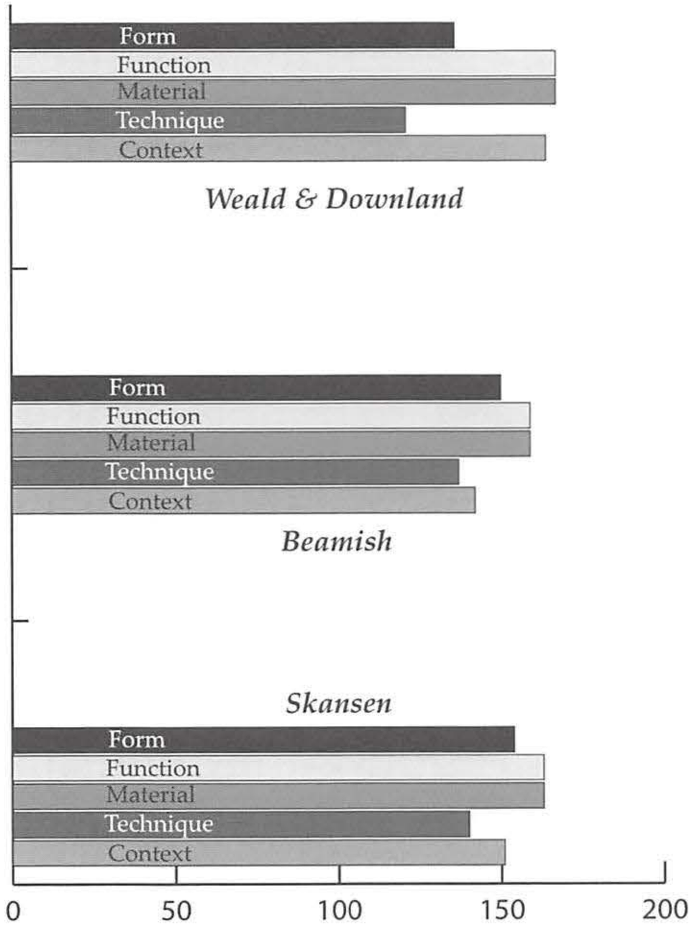
Weald and Downland:

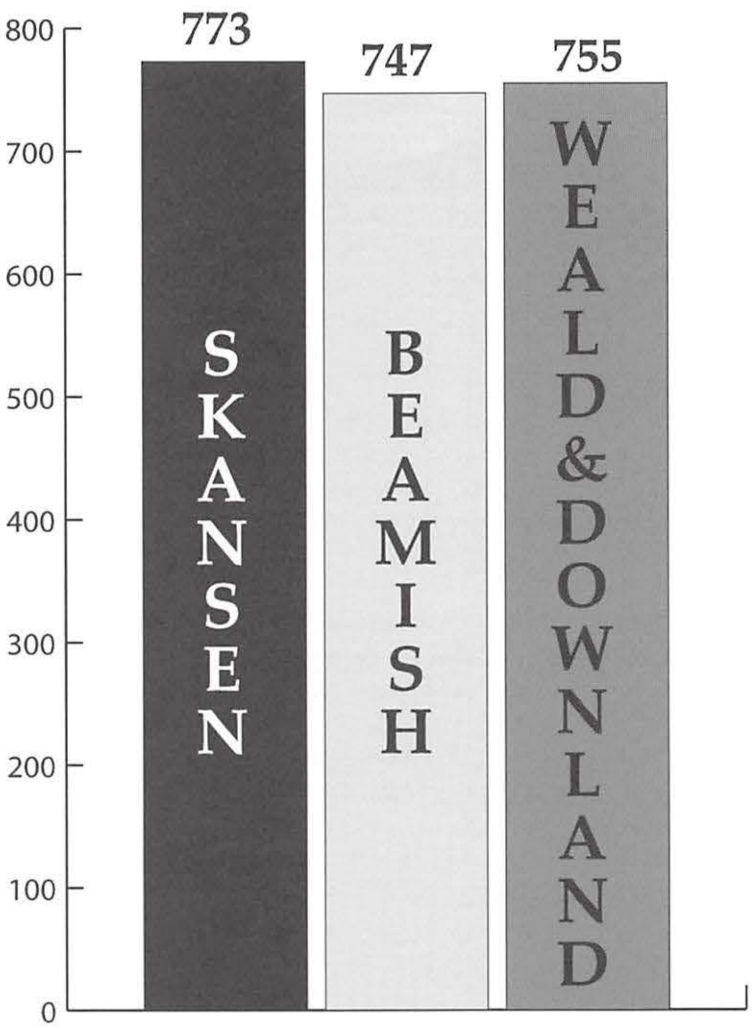


Beamish:



Comparative chart of the 3 museums on the 5 indicators





Comparative chart of the total scores of the 3 museums

Conclusion:

This is a personal way of interpreting authenticity and an attempt has been made to develop a methodology with a scope of further amendments.

1. Scoring is a feasible technique to asses the authenticity with respect to 5 aspects and have been helpful in calculating the overall performance of each building and the site on the five indicators established within range of high to low beyond the qualitative opinion. It helps the open-air museums to compare their performance with other counterparts.

Assessment

Name of the building	*Form*	*Function*	*Material*	*Technique*	*Context*	*Total*
Weald and Downland						
1. The Market Hall	8	5	8	8	7	36
2. The School	8	7	9	9	8	41
Skansen						
3.Alvros Farmstead	8	5	8	8	7	36
4. The Hasjo Belfry	4	6	8	8	7	33
Beamish						
5.The Pockerley	9	7	8	8	9	41
6. The Garage	7	8	8	8	7	38

Comparing the individual scores with the total scores we can see:

Results of Weald and Downland open-air museum scores very well on the respective material technique and form indicators but its weakness lies in the preservation of function and original context of the buildings. The functional aspect of the buildings demands attention, with the interiors being well treated. This could help in retaining the function, for example the shops in the market place.

Skansen rates higher in context and function criteria but lacks in form preservation. Beamish ranks moderate on all the five indicators but projects an unreal impression (personal observation) with the object filled in the various exhibits and the metal led roads connecting one region to the other. The scoring of each building could provide a helping hand in improving the authentic depiction of the past on the site.

2. It brings out the importance of a new aspect of Authenticity in regard to interiors (have been recently acknowledged) which in my opinion should be introduced in the contextual authenticity. In the contextual authenticity we can have the overall grading on the basis of its external relationship with the neighboring buildings and nature while the internal relationship with interiors encompassing objects, walls windows etc. I strongly recommend that the interpretation of authenticity could not be fully manifested without interiors/objects contained within architecture as it's an important aspect for visitors, observed while conducting surveys on the respected sites.

George and Pat Crawford

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3. There is no such term as absolute authenticity as change is inevitable. Time changes even the building on its original site, same function, interiors , form , material changes with respect to site as affected by the natural forces of change. So the buildings originally conserved on a site or relocated onto the new site are bound to change in respect of function or form. Relocation leads to disappearing of the context but could be regained by recreating the landscape. With different requirements can change the function of the place as in situ or relocated. Some genuine allowances have been already given in deciding the criteria to assess authenticity at the conference held at Norway in 1994.

Notes

1 Keith S. Thomson, *Treasures on Earth: Museums, Collections and Paradoxes*, London 2002, pp 14.

2 Cited in Ian Ayris, 'Heritage Debate', Communicating Conservation Durham Conference, 5th-9th April 1989, p 5. Available on http://www.ihbc.org.uk/context_archive/22/durham_dir/durham_s5.htm.

3 Antonia Noussia, 'Transition from space to place: The heritage process in open-air museums in England' in *Center for Environmental Design and Research*, 118 (1998), pp 17-35.

4 Paul Oliver, 'Representing and Re-presenting the vernacular: The open-air museum', Center for Environmental Design and Research, 118 (1998), pp 1-15.

5 Barry Rowney, 'Conservation: The question of authenticity – Ideals and realities', Center for Environmental Design Research, 114 (1998), pp 58.

6 Bernard Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*, London 1982, pp 5.

7 Christina F.Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation ad heritage preservation*, London 2003, p 11.

8 Knut Larsen, Conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention, Norway 1994, p 22.

9 UNESCO, Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World heritage Committee, December, 1993. Article 24.

10 Knut Larsen, Conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention, Norway 1994, p 133.

11 Knut Larsen, Conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention, Norway 1994, pp 123.

12 Knut Larsen, Conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention, Norway 1994, p 133.

13 M.Cseri, Report of the conference Tagunsbericht, Szentendre, Hungary / Ungam 2001, ICOM, 20th conference of the Association of European open-air museums, Hungary 2001, pp 41-50.

Wayne County Historical Society

Host Site

2005 MOMCC Spring Conference

Wayne County Historical Society

The Site:
Six original structures moved onto the site, with the home of Reasin Beall (a War of 1812 General of Ohio militia) as the main focal point.

The Numbers:
Last year's official number of visitors: 1,343

Full time staff: 0
Part time staff: 2
Volunteers: 73

Mission Statement:
The mission of the Wayne County Historical Society is to collect, preserve, and interpret artifacts and experiences that reflect the cultural heritage of the county for the education and enjoyment of present and future generations.

Hours of operation/season and admission costs:
Wed-Sun. 2-4:30 pm, closed January and holidays. Admission $3.00, children ages 14 and under free.

Website:
www.waynehistorical.org

Programs and Interpretation:
The programming at the Wayne County Historical Society coincides with the ever changing displays focusing on the county's history. Whether it be a WWII reenactor talking to the public or a discussion of original garments, a wide variety of programs are offered.

Third person is the usual mode of interpretation because guided tours are usually provided to the public and it is easier for us to draw comparisons between the various time periods and the present.

Wayne County Barn

A variety of time periods throughout Wayne County History are represented from prehistoric times to the present.

Favorite odd visitor comment or question:
Where is the squirrel orchestra?

What do most people come to see at your site?
The Beall house has traditionally been our major draw. Many people, however, come to see the local items that pertain to their own family or their own interests.

What is the biggest hidden treasure at your site?
The textile collection, our original 1869 Allerton steam driven fire pumper, and the biggest one, our Reasin Beall House.

Famous people connected to your site:
General Reasin Beall – a commander of Ohio militia during the War of 1812 and associate to William Henry Harrison.

Is period clothing/costuming part of your site? How many people? What span of years?
For various programs, the military collections committee will wear anything from civil war uniforms to WWII. We also have a terrific Textile Committee, who have found great success with "white glove fashion shows", whereby we are able to exhibit original collection items in tandem with period costumes.

If money/redtape/bureaucracy was no object, what would you wish for your site?
More land acquisition. We have become a landlocked site.

Briefly describe your agricultural program.
Not a proper "program" at present, but being a heavily agricultural region, we have a large collection of historic farm implements and plan on emphasizing our agricultural heritage more and more.

Is your site involved in any community or governmental partnerships?
We are a county historical society and enjoy great support from our county government and elected officials.

Do you have a gift shop? If yes, what type of merchandise do you carry?
We carry a small amount of merchandise and principally sell past publications by the society.

Do you have exhibits? What are the focus points?
Quite a few. We have a number of static exhibits and rotate three to four major exhibits per year, with the main focus being local history.

How does your site interpret any unpleasant histories that are connected with your site?
I believe in presenting history "warts and all." I think we do the public a great disservice by sanitizing history. Recently, we discovered an early 20th century photograph of a Klan march through downtown Wooster. Obviously, it's something no community is proud to advertise. However, I wouldn't dream of pretending agricultural communities in the Midwest during this time weren't havens for the Ku Klux Klan recruitment. Next year, we will be hosting an exhibit on the impact of the Vietnam War on this community. Significant protests occurred at the College of Wooster in the Sixties. It won't be popular with some, but recognizing that these events actually occurred is a must.

Briefly describe any future projects.
Our biggest current project is the restoration of the Beall House to its original 19th century appearance. When done, almost $1 million will have been invested in the house's restoration. Interpretative periods will range from approximately 1824 to 1860. We have recently discovered and elected to restore the home's original 1820's kitchen in the basement, which is one of only a few still left in a fairly "pristine" condition in Ohio. Significant interpretative time will also be given to the historic restoration process itself. Furthermore, we are in the process of constructing a reproduction late 19th century firehouse in order to house our firefighting collection, our 1869 Allerton Steam Pumper amongst them. Due to a number of very old brass factories, this region is the world's largest manufacturer of brass fittings for fire fighting equipment. Next year will see the reconstruction of a mid 19th century carriage house to exhibit our buggy collection, a new storage facility on the campus and further partnerships with local school systems who are now tested on local and state history. In short, though we are one of the region's oldest county historical societies, we are attempting to transform the concept of the county historical society to something greater than simply the traditional warehouse of local artifacts stored in the home of the wealthiest local figure of the past century.

What type of publication does your site produce?
A newsletter.

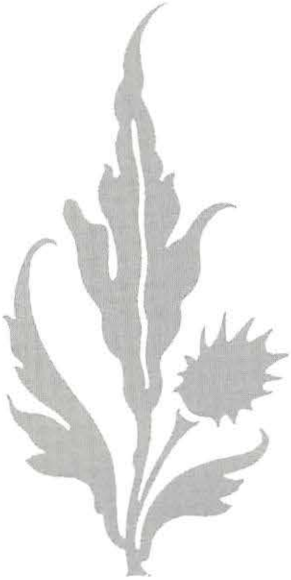
Have you received any awards, grants, or any particular distinctions in the past 18 months?
We gave received state and federal grants, most notably a grant from the National Park Service to restore the Reasin Beall homestead.

What is the most unusual item in your collection?
Without debate, the infamous "Squirrel Orchestra."

What items are you most proud of in your collections?
The item we're most proud of is a Civil War guidon carried by local volunteers (the 16th OVI) in the war. It was one of the first items donated to our organization in 1904 and was on the verge of simply disintegrating with age and abuse. Almost overnight we were able to raise $10,000.00 necessary to preserve and stabilize the item.

How many years has your site been in existence?
2004 marked our organization's 100th anniversary, which some allege makes us Ohio's oldest county historical society.

What amenities does your site offer? (ie; restaurants, etc.)
We are a centrally located campus with access to all of Wooster's local amenities.



Making Sense of Place, Inc.

Finding inspiration in the past, creating meaning for the present and planning for the future.

Making Sense of Place, Inc. draws from extensive knowledge and experience in cultural and natural history planning and interpretation to help bring meaning to the places in our lives by integrating culture and nature in planning, research and interpretive programming.

- **Administrative and Planning Services**
  - Organizational assessments
  - Master, long-range and strategic planning
  - Interpretive planning
  - Business planning
  - Market planning
  - Fund-raising case statements and grant writing
- **Research Services**
  - Agricultural history
  - Ethnic history
  - Biography and Community history
  - Environmental history
  - Garden history
- **Interpretive and Educational Program Services**
  - Living history farm program development
  - Historic site and open-air museum program development
  - Educational program design and development
  - Planning, research, design and production of wayside exhibits
  - Planning, research, design and production of museum exhibits
  - Interpretive training workshops

Making Sense of Place, Inc.
Tom Woods, Ph.D., President
1521 Grandview Ave., Oconomowoc, WI 53066
262-569-1698, tom@makingsenseofplace.com
www.makingsenseofplace.com

Welcome to ALHFAM 2005

Farm Fresh: Keeping Museums Fresh in the 21st Century

June 12-16, 2005

ALHFAM and Living History Farms turn 35 years old in 2005. We invite you to celebrate our shared anniversary at this year's Annual Meeting and Conference!

We've chosen the theme "Farm Fresh: Keeping Museums Fresh in the 21st Century". The conference will explore the ways living history museums are able to keep their long standing programs, events, and everyday operating processes meaningful in a new century. Presenters are invited to discuss innovations in collections, membership development, fundraising and programming to offer fresh opportunities for institutions to grow while making significant contributions to their communities. In this era of modernization, museums must decide what aspects of their own past are worth keeping and which need to be refreshed. We are exploring the latest trends in all areas of the living history museum field, especially those addressing how to evaluate traditional programs and routines in the light of those trends.

A majority of the four-day conference will utilize facilities at Drake University, a private, coeducational university on a 120-acre campus in Des Moines. We'll also include a variety of interesting and informative workshops and trips using nearby museums, historic sites, businesses and attractions. Your site day at Living History Farms gives us with a chance to show off the museum and our award-winning "Get Your Grip on History" program, which gives every guest a free pair of work gloves and a changing, daily schedule of hands-on activities from June through August.

Please come to the heart of the Midwest for a "farm fresh" conference celebrating the people and places that bring history to life!

LIVING HISTORY FARMS

For more information visit:

www.alhfam.org

NEWS RELEASE

Old English geese find home at Pennsylvania farm

Rare birds will be part of preservation breeding program

By Christine Heinrichs, Publicity Director, SPPA

Seven rare Old English geese moved from Texas to Pennsylvania in May. Four are mature and three are youngsters, a saddlebacked female hatched in 2003 and a male and female hatched early in 2004.

"It didn't take them too long to adjust," says new owner Frank Norman. "We bribed them with enough food, so they got used to us pretty quick."

The bribe was six inches of tender grass in the paddock that was their first home after their commercial flight from Texas.

Their former owner, turkey breeder Tom T. Walker, felt he didn't have the time to devote to goose breeding. Mr. Norman contacted Mr. Walker after reading about the geese in the Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of Poultry Antiquities.

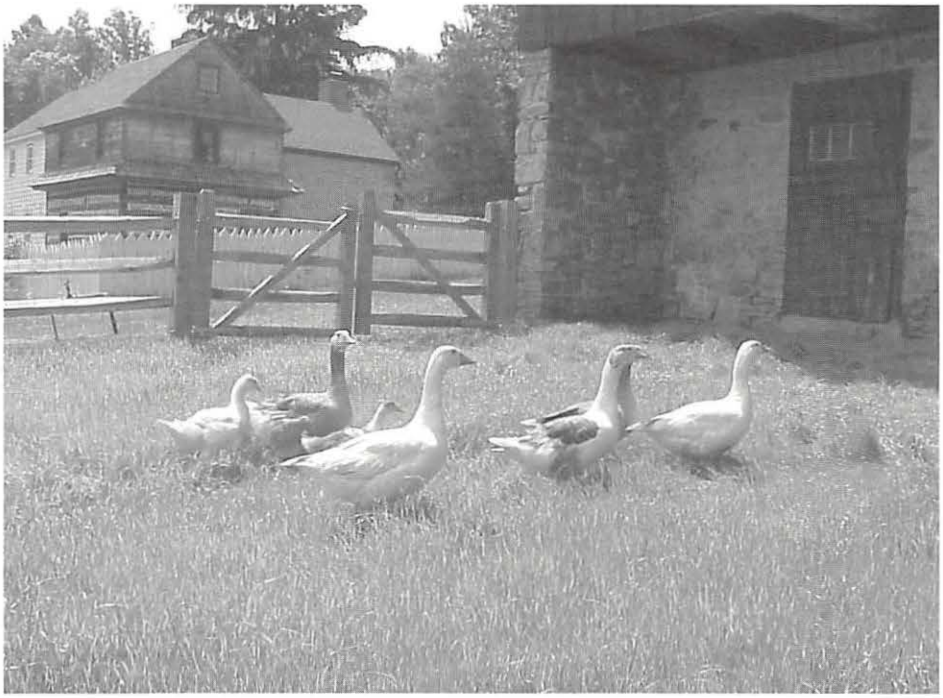
Mr. Norman has restored a 1770s farmhouse and is working on restoring the barn. He started his historic poultry collection with Red and Silver Gray Dorkings.

"I wanted to find livestock typical of the period," he says. "What I found out was that most of those breeds were on preservation lists. I want to help propagate these lines."

Four Leicester long-wool sheep are on their way to the farm. He plans to acquire four standard Bronze turkeys.

The geese were wary of the three-quarter acre pond at first. Their previous experience with water was a small wading pool.

"They're still hesitant," Mr. Norman says. "They scare each other into the pond and flap around, all helter-skelter. Then they come out and preen and dry off, and then go in again. There's nothing calm about it."



The group includes two gray females, one saddleback gander and one standard gander. The 2004 hatchling gander may turn out to be saddlebacked. Saddlebacks become apparent early in development.

Mr. Norman has connected with Bernard Gil of Ontario, Canada, from whose flock four of the geese originated. He will send Mr. Gil two saddlebacked females from next year's hatchlings to infuse new breeding lines into his flock.

A small breeding pool can result in problems with inbreeding. SPPA helps breeders find different strains to keep their breeds vigorous.

Mr. Norman looks forward to next year's breeding season. He has already promised pairs and trios to other SPPA members.

To join SPPA, send $12.50 for a one-year membership to Glenn Drowns, 1878 230th St., Calamus, IA 52729. Contact Christine Heinrichs at:
christinewillard@prodigy.net, (608) 243-8178

25th Anniversary Endowment Fund

Candace Matelic, founder of MOMCC, has pledged the first donation to the MOMCC endowment - $2,500, which she challenges MOMCC members to match 3 to1. By the campaign's end the fund will increase to at least $10,000. Pledges already stand at $3,097. MOMCC established the endowment to honor the organization's 25th anniversary. The interest from the $10,000 investment will increase MOMCC services to members, including but not limited to fellowships to attend MOMCC and ALHFAM conferences, invited speakers at conferences, and special publications.

Contributions of any amount are welcome, and all funds will be restricted. Please use the endowment as an opportunity for planned as well as memorial giving. Contributions may be made in installments, with billing occurring twice during FY 2004-2005 (Sept. 1-Aug. 31) and twice during FY 2005-2006.

Midwest Open Air Museums Coordinating Council
Est. 1978

Please make your tax-deductible contribution today by completing the form below and mailing it to the MOMCC treasurer, Debra A. Reid. You will receive a thank-you letter that will serve as proof of your contribution.

Contributors will be listed in each fall issue of the MOMCC Magazine. If you wish to remain anonymous, please indicate that on the contribution form.

MOMCC thanks you for your support.

2004 Donors

Candace Matelic
Tom Pinkerton
Janice Falk
David Vanderstel
Jean Fiedler
Robert Burg
Charlie Keller
Debra A. Reid

- -

25th Anniversary Endowment Fund Contribution Form

Memorials: This donation recognizes the following individual (can be living!!)____________________
Biographical information on the individual memorialized (optional)____________________
____
____

Anonymous (please circle preference): YES / NO
Publication information (please circle preference): YES / NO I allow my name to be published in the MOMCC Magazine (Fall issue) as a contributor to the MOMCC 25th Anniversary Endowment Fund.
Amount: ______$25 _____$50 _____$100 _____$250 _____Other
Payment Method: _____ Check or Money Order (Payable to MOMCC Endowment Fund)
_____ Credit Card (Please Circle) VISA / MASTERCARD
# on Credit Card____________________Expiration date:____________
Please charge my card for $____________ AUTHORIZING SIGNATURE:____________________
Contribution made by:
NAME: (as you wish it to appear in the MOMCC Magazine)____________________
Address: ____________ City:____________ State: ________ Zip Code:____________
Daytime Phone: (Area Code) and number: ____________________ E-mail:____________

Send this Endowment Fund Contribution Form along with payment to:
Debra A. Reid, MOMCC Treasurer; Department of History, Eastern Illinois University
600 Lincoln Avenue.; Charleston, IL 61920

Midwest Open-Air Museums Coordinating Council Bylaws

Approved by the MOMCC membership November 2004

ARTICLE I - Name

The name of this organization shall be Midwest Open Air Museums Coordinating Council. It shall be known as MOMCC.

ARTICLE II - Purpose, Definitions, and Affiliations

Section 1. Purpose

The purpose of MOMCC is to promote excellence and to provide a forum for the interchange of materials, information, ideas and consideration of professional issues within the open air, interactive, and historical museum professions. This is accomplished through regularly scheduled conferences as well as the Midwest Open Air Museums Magazine and additional printed and electronic resources.

Section 2. Definitions

MIDWEST REGION - The Midwest is defined as the eight states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin.

OPEN-AIR MUSEUM - A site or facility that interprets history through exhibits, living history interpretation and/or other educational programs.

Section 3. Affiliations

The Midwest Open Air Museums Coordinating Council may maintain an affiliation with other historical organizations for the purpose of cooperation in areas of mutual concern and interest. It may maintain its affiliation as the designated Midwest representative of the Association for Living History, Farm and Agricultural Museums.

ARTICLE III - Membership

MOMCC will be composed of interested institutions and individuals who will be invited to participate in annual meetings and other activities sponsored for the general membership.

Section 1. Membership Categories

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBER – Open-air museums, historical and folk-life agencies, house museums and interested businesses and institutions who support the purpose and activities of the organization.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBER - All individuals who support the purpose and activities of the organization.

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER - Any two individuals who share the same address and support the purpose and activities of the organization.

Section 2. Membership Dues

A. Members shall pay dues as determined by the Board of Directors.

B. Failure to pay dues shall result in the termination of membership.

Section 3. Voting Privileges

A. Each institutional member will be entitled to one vote at all business meetings of membership. Each institution shall designate one person who may vote and act for said institution.

B. Each individual member will be entitled to one vote at all business meetings of the membership.

C. Each household membership will be entitled to two votes at all business meetings of the membership.

ARTICLE IV - Standing Committees

Section 1. Standing Committees are established by the Board of Directors and may be called 'Resource Groups'.

Section 2. Each Standing Committee shall have a Chair appointed by the Board of Directors for a term of two years with possible reappointment. The Board of Directors may appoint new Chairs as it deems necessary.

Section 3. Standing Committee Chairs shall submit a written report of activities of their committee to the Board of Directors within thirty days of each conference.

Section 4. All Standing Committees may develop their own 'Rules and Regulations' for ongoing operations, within these bylaws, to be presented to the Board for approval.

ARTICLE V - Board of Directors

Section 1. Board Members shall be the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Past President, and three Members at Large. Also appointed by the Board of Directors will be the Editor-in-Chief of the magazine, a Spring and a Fall Conference Coordinator and a Web Master. All will have voting privileges.

Section 2. The Board of Directors should reflect the diversity of MOMCC membership (geographic coverage, range of types of institutions represented, and variety of professional expertise.)

Section 3. The Executive Committee consists of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Past President.

Section 4. Duties of the Board of Directors

A. The President shall preside at all meetings of MOMCC and Board of Directors meetings. The President shall have the power to act for the Board of Directors in matters of administration and program, between meetings, and shall be the official representative of MOMCC.

The President shall have the authority to appoint such other committees and officials as may be deemed necessary by the Board of Directors. The President shall present a report annually to the Board of Directors and the Secretary shall file said report and make it available to all members of MOMCC. The President or his appointed representative shall represent MOMCC at regional meetings held during the ALHFAM conference.

B. The Vice President shall perform all duties of the President during the latter's absence or disability, and shall succeed to the office of President in the event of the withdrawal or resignation of the President. The Vice President shall also perform such duties as may be assigned by the President or Board of Directors.

C. The Past President shall serve in an advisory capacity and shall perform duties as assigned by the President or Board of Directors.

D. The Secretary shall keep all records of transactions, shall make a record of deliberations of MOMCC and shall send to the members, all notices required by the Board of Directors. The Secretary shall be the custodian of records, which shall be made available to any member upon presentation of a written request to the Board of Directors. The Secretary shall prepare minutes of the Board of Directors meetings in a timely fashion and will distribute these minutes to the Board Members within 30 days of the meeting. Minutes of the Annual Meeting will be published in the MOMCC Magazine.

E. The Treasurer shall collect, and by order of the President and/or Board of Directors, disburse all funds of MOMCC and shall keep regular accounts of all receipts and disbursements of monies due or payable which at all times shall be open to inspection by the Board of Directors. The accounts of the Treasurer shall be audited at any time as deemed necessary or appropriate by the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall provide written financial reports for each Board Meeting and a written financial report to the membership at each Annual Meeting.

F. The Members-At-Large shall serve as the Marketing Committee to promote MOMCC and its goals. They will be responsible for obtaining new members and advertising conferences. Other duties may be assigned by the President or the Board of Directors.

G. The Editor-in-Chief of the Midwest Open Air Museums Magazine shall have editorial responsibility for all publications, shall solicit articles and advertisers, produce the publications, and working in conjunction with the Treasurer shall be responsible for making sure all bills for the publication are submitted in a timely fashion.

H. Fall and Spring Conference Coordinators will propose future host sites and Conference Chairs and will work with the Board of Directors and appointed Conference Chairs to provide quality, cost-effective conferences.

I. The Web Master shall maintain MOMCC's presence on the world-wide-web in a timely fashion. The Web Master shall have editorial responsibility for the content of the MOMCC web site and shall report to the Board of Directors.

J. The Board of Directors shall review the Bylaws at least every five years, but more often if necessary.

Section 5. Terms of Office and Vacancies

A. All Board Members must be an Individual or Household member of MOMCC in good standing.

B. The President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected for a term of two years by the voting members of MOMCC as provided in Article VII of these Bylaws. The President and Vice President shall be elected in odd numbered years. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected in even numbered years. They shall take office at the close of the Annual Meeting.

C. The President may hold the same position for not more than two consecutive terms. The President shall become the Past President following his or her term of office.

D. The Vice President may hold the same office for not more than two consecutive terms.

E. The Secretary and Treasurer may be re-elected indefinitely.

F. One Member-At-Large shall be elected at each annual meeting by the voting membership of MOMCC to serve for a three-year term. Members-At-Large may be re-elected indefinitely.

G. The Editor-In-Chief of the Midwest Open Air Museums Magazine shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and will serve on the Board for a term of two years. He or she may be re-appointed to this position.

H. The Spring and Fall Conference Coordinators will be appointed by the Board of Directors and will serve on the Board for a term of three years. These coordinators may be re-appointed to this position.

I. The Web Master of the MOMCC web site shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and will serve on the Board for a term of two years. He or she may be re-appointed to this position.

J. Any Board Member may be removed from office for absences from three consecutive, separate Board meetings, failure to fulfill duties as assigned, improper conduct or misuse of funds or property as judged by two-thirds of the Board of Directors. Vacancies created during the term of office may be filled by appointment by the Board of Directors, except the vacancy of President, which shall be filled by the Vice President. Filling an unexpired term shall not prevent Board Members from being elected to full terms of office.

ARTICLE VI - Duties of the Board of Directors

Section 1. The elected officers and appointed Board Members shall control and manage the affairs of MOMCC in accordance with the Bylaws and shall be vested with responsibility and control of all property of MOMCC held in trust for the benefit of MOMCC, and shall have the power to authorize all acts on behalf of MOMCC except to amend or change the Bylaws. The Board of Directors may make rules for the conduct of its own meetings, and in the absence of any such rules, said meetings shall be conducted according to Roberts Rules of Order.

Section 2. The Board of Directors may act and ballot by mail, telephone, fax, e-mail, or otherwise as determined by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall advocate and conform with the MOMCC Statement of Professional

Conduct [adopted by the MOMCC membership November 2004] and with the parameters established by the MOMCC Articles of Incorporation, 1992, amended January 1995.

ARTICLE VII - Elections

Section 1. The Board of Directors will appoint a nominating committee, consisting of two Board Members and two non Board Members, at the annual meeting. This committee will recommend nominees for each expiring elected term to the Board of Directors at the summer Board meeting for approval. The slate will be filed with the Secretary one hundred and twenty days prior to the Annual Meeting.

Section 2. The Secretary shall be required to submit written notice of the list of nominees to all voting members of MOMCC. Voting members are those whose dues are current. The notices shall be submitted at least 30 days prior to the Annual Meeting by first class mail with instructions for voting and for the return of the mail ballots to the Secretary or appointed designee. The Board of Directors will appoint two members to open and count the ballots.

Section 3. Persons receiving the highest number of votes for each office shall be elected to that office. An Annual Meeting election will be held only in the case of a tie.

ARTICLE VIII - Meetings

Section 1. Meetings of the Board of Directors

Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held twice a year and others at the discretion of the President, or upon written request to the President or Secretary by at least three of its members. A quorum for the Board of Directors shall consist of a majority of the Board Members, which is seven.

Section 2. Meetings of the Membership

A. The site of the Annual Business Meeting and other meetings for each year will be confirmed by the MOMCC Board of Directors. Other meetings may be held at the written request of three Board Members or by the President.

B. The Conference Committee will notify all members, in writing of the dates of the conferences, including the Annual Business Meeting, at least two months in advance.

ARTICLE IX – Finances

Section 1. The Fiscal Year of MOMCC shall begin on the first day of September and continue through the thirty-first day of August.

Section 2. The Treasurer shall deposit all funds of MOMCC in a bank to be selected by the Treasurer and approved by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. All bills shall be paid only by checks signed by the Treasurer upon receipt of voucher. Special accounts may be established by designated individuals as approved by the Board. These special accounts will be for special projects, conferences, etc. These accounts will be for no more than six months and will be under the direct supervision of the Treasurer.

Section 4. Individuals designated to establish special accounts will be required to provide the Treasurer and Board of Directors an accounting of funds within sixty days of the end of the activity. All records of these accounts will be turned over to the Treasurer along with any profits resulting from the activity.

Section 5. Officers having charge or control of funds shall give bond as may be required by the Board of Directors for the safe custody of the funds of MOMCC, with the cost to be paid by MOMCC.

Section 6. An annual budget shall be prepared by the Board of Directors at least 30 days prior to the Annual Meeting. Unbudgeted expenditures of more than $500.00 shall require membership approval. A copy of the budget will be filed with the Secretary.

Section 7. Accounts of the Treasurer will be reviewed by an internal Audit Committee annually and at other times as deemed necessary by the Board of Directors. External audits will be conducted as authorized by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE X - Rules of Procedure

The proceedings and business of MOMCC shall be governed by Robert's latest edition of parliamentary procedure, unless otherwise provided herein.

ARTICLE XI - Amendments

Changes to the Bylaws may be presented by the membership to the Board of Directors or may originate from within the Board of Directors. With approval from the Board of Directors, the changes shall be presented to the membership in writing, including the proposed Bylaw amendments and a mail-in ballot.

Ballots must be returned to the Secretary within thirty days, postmark to postmark. Ballots returned after thirty days shall not be counted. Any action will become effective immediately. The results will be confirmed at the next annual meeting.

Certificate of Amendment
Articles of Incorporation
January 13, 1995

No part of the net earnings of the organization shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its members, trustees, officers, or other private persons, except that the organization shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in the purpose clause hereof. No substantial part of the activities of organization shall be the carrying on of propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and the organization shall not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office. Notwithstanding any other provision of this document, the organization shall not carry on any other activities not permitted to be carried on (a) by an organization exempt from federal income tax under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, corresponding section of any future federal tax code, or (b) by an organization, contributions to which are deductible under sections 170 (c) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future federal tax code.

Upon the dissolution of the organization, assets shall be distributed for one or more exempt purposes within the meaning of section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future federal tax code, or shall be distributed to the federal government, or to a state or local government, for a public purpose. Any such assets not disposed of shall be disposed of by the Court of Common Pleas of the county in which the principal office of the organization is then located, exclusively for such purposes or to such organization or organizations, as said Court shall determine, which are organized and operated exclusively for such purposes.

STATEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

Effective November 2004
Approved by the MOMCC Membership November 2004

Preamble

The Board of Directors of the Midwest Open Air Museums Coordinating Council (hereafter MOMCC) hereby promulgates, pursuant to Article VI, Section 3 of the MOMCC's Bylaws, the MOMCC Statement of Professional Conduct, effective November 2004.

The MOMCC strives to honor and promote the public's trust by issuing this statement to guide professional and ethical conduct. The absence of an explicit reference to a specific situation or action does not mean that situation or action is ethical or unethical. This statement is not exhaustive. Members who are uncertain about the ethics of a particular action are encouraged to consult with colleagues, consultants, supervisors, or legal counsel.

The MOMCC Statement of Professional Conduct applies to members in all membership categories; thus all members have an obligation to understand the statement as it applies to them. If this statement expects more of members than simple compliance with the law, members must adhere to the MOMCC statement. Ignorance of this statement is not a defense.

Failure to conform to the spirit of this Statement of Professional Conduct can result in the removal of an elected or appointed officer and/or the rescission of membership by board action. Resigning membership in anticipation of a board-initiated inquiry will not halt the process.

STANDARDS

1. Professional Competence and Integrity

MOMCC recognizes the International Council of Museums definition of a museum as providing minimum criteria around which to build professional goals and competencies for staff in open air, living history and interactive history museums. According to ICOM, a museum is: "A nonprofit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment."

Museums exist as public trusts, and museum employees must commit themselves to collecting and caring for artifacts and information and conveying it in ways that model competency and integrity and that benefit the museums' diverse audiences.

* MOMCC members pursue knowledge of new developments and maintain competence through education, training, and supervision.

* MOMCC members do not provide services that create a conflict of interest for themselves or their employer. In other words, no individual may use his or her position in a museum for personal gain or to benefit another at the expense of the museum, its mission, its reputation, and the society it serves.

* MOMCC members, as presenters, teachers, interpreters, consultants and researchers, are dedicated to high standards of scholarship, present accurate information, and disclose potential conflicts of interests.

* MOMCC members respect the dignity and protect the welfare of research participants, and conduct research within applicable laws and regulations.

* MOMCC members make efforts to prevent the distortion or misuse of their research findings.

* MOMCC members make efforts to ensure sources are cited and information imparted by them is attributed to the appropriate source.

* MOMCC members advance the profession by sharing accurate information and best practices to other members. Information is shared throughout the MOMCC community via promotional literature, MOMCC Magazine, special publications, educational conferences, the organization's website, etc. The expectation is that information is freely disseminated rather than withheld.

2. Stewardship

MOMCC recognizes the inherent differences in artifact use and care between a traditional museum and a living history museum. Resources such as historical artifacts form the basis of programming in traditional history museums as well as open air, living history and interactive museums. Yet, these non-traditional history museums rely also on clearly documented reproductions and facsimiles and other evidence of the past such as flora and fauna and historic buildings and landscapes as a foundation for historical understanding. Responsible stewardship of such an array of data and object types necessitates broad-based knowledge in a range of disciplines.

* MOMCC members comply with best practices in the care, conservation and management of historic artifacts, reproductions and other inanimate historic resources that ensure preservation by reducing the rate of deterioration as much as possible.

* MOMCC members comply with best practices in care, conservation and management of animate historic resources.

* MOMCC members recognize and act within professional standards advocated by conservators, registrars and collection managers.

* MOMCC members recognize and are sensitive to cultural and ethnic origins of historic resources.

* MOMCC members recognize the intrinsic (in contrast to the financial) worth of historic resources.

* MOMCC members practice responsible deaccessioning.

3. Interpretation

Intellectually provocative and historically honest interpretation as modeled by MOMCC members should build on Freeman Tilden's principles as outlined in *Interpreting Our Heritage: Principles and*

*Practices for Visitor Services in Parks, Museums, and Historic Places (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).

* MOMCC members interpret using sound educational practices. Their interpretation is based upon solid research and documented sources.

* MOMCC members present varied perspectives to represent the cultural context.

* MOMCC members stress the importance of comprehending multiple points of view and conflicting opinions.

* MOMCC members use historical resources in compliance with recommended standards of professional conduct outlined in #2 above.

4. Management
Museums can only exist because paid and unpaid staff and boards of directors practice careful stewardship of limited resources within the scope of the respective museum's mission.

* MOMCC members adhere to policies and procedures that ensure ethical treatment of employees, volunteers, and the general public.

* MOMCC members comply with all local laws and codes relating to the health and safety of staff, volunteers, the public, and any livestock or other animals kept by the entity.

* MOMCC members advocate sound financial practices designed to ensure stability and growth of the entity.

* MOMCC members are accountable to their constituency through the publication and release of an annual report including financial audit results.

5. Responsibility to the Profession
The institutions and individuals served by MOMCC each play a role in maintaining and improving professional practices.

* MOMCC members do not plagiarize or fail to cite persons to whom credit for original ideas or work is due.

* MOMCC members are concerned with developing laws and regulations pertaining to historical artifacts, sites, and other materials, that serve the public interest.

* MOMCC members do not use any professional identification that includes false or deceptive information.

* MOMCC members do not promote themselves as experts in any venue unless they have the appropriate education, training, or supervised experience.

The Pioneer Experience in Iowa:
The Journey Westward and Starting a Farm
By Rick Finch

Society today as a whole tends to generalize history and forgets that the lives of people in the past were as varied as lives are today. The pioneering experience in Iowa is a fascinating story that is often misunderstood. We associate pioneering with covered wagons; farmsteads carved from nothing, and allowing even the poorest of the poor an equal start. In reality not every one traveled by wagon and it really took some type of financial means to settle in Iowa. American society even in the mid-nineteenth century was quite mobile and settlers had an array of options to get them to their destination and start their farms. This discussion focuses on the methods of transportation used to reach Iowa in the mid-nineteenth century and what settlers needed to do to get their farms started. This discussion represents only a small sample of the experiences of settlers to Iowa.

Hundreds of thousands of pioneers migrated to Iowa between 1833 and 1860 creating a population explosion. The population more than tripled every ten years between 1840 and 1860, increasing from 43,112 people in 1840 to 674,913 in 1860. [1] Pioneers migrated to Iowa from all over the country and Europe but the majority came from the eastern United States, especially the Ohio Valley area. About eight out of every ten pioneers settling in Iowa were at least second generation Americans. Ohio had the highest number of settlers in 1860 with 99,240. Germany supplied Iowa with the most foreign-born residents in 1860 with 38,555 people. Ireland and England were next with 28,072 people and 11,522 people respectively. In addition, 191,148 children had been born in Iowa by 1860. [2]

Settlement followed the rivers and started in the southeast part of the state and progressed towards the northwest. Timber grew near the rivers and people settled near the river since timber culture is what they knew. Most settlers were unfamiliar with the prairie culture and the first settlers were hesitant to settle on it. The massive number of settlers to Iowa eventually required settlement on the prairie and that's when its "discovery" as excellent farmland emerged.

The trip west began approximately six months before leaving as families decided what to bring with them and what to sell, trade, or give away. This was a hard process and everyone didn't agree on what was a necessity and what wasn't. Factors such as method of transportation, size of family and length of trip determined what traveled west and what stayed behind.

A family moving by train, boat or some other mode of transportation had to be even more selective since they had to pack their possessions into one or several wooden crates and ship them to Iowa or some spot on the border such as Rock Island, Illinois. Boxes were held at towns until the family could pick them up at a later date, usually after they had erected their house and started their farm.

Boxes didn't always arrive in the best condition. Sarah Kenyon described their box of possessions in a letter home to family dated August 29, 1856. She writes, "Our goods have all arrived. [T]he last that were sent came on the same time as our others. The stove hearth was broken in to (sic) and the slide pretty well smashed. We can have the hearth mended I think but the slid (sic) is past pancakes. Everything else came safe and sound ... [O]ur freight bill was enormous on our goods but I don't see what we could have spared very well. We get along with what be brought. All that I have bought is half dozen cups and saucers ... [W]e don't have any dainties but we shall live just as long and perhaps be the healthier." [3]

Wagon Travel

Many people traveled to Iowa in covered, emigrant wagons measuring ten feet long, four feet wide, and two feet deep. [4] Men secured the wagon, animals and provisions such as farming equipment, tools, and seed. Women produced the cover for the wagon and foodstuffs. Both men and women helped pack the wagon. Items packed in the wagon might include clothing, food, cooking utensils, furniture, bedding, medicines, and firearms. [5] Water buckets, agricultural equipment, and grease buckets hung on the outside.

Kiturah Belknap wrote of the supplies she prepared for her family's journey west. The supplies included enough candles for a year, a complete medicine chest, home sewn sacks filled with flour, corn meal, dried fruits and other foodstuffs, assembled dishes and cooking pots, and enough cooked food for one week. [6]

George Duffield and his family migrated to Iowa in 1837. They traveled by wagon with two oxen and a horse. Their wagon contained provisions until the first crop was harvested, a few dishes, an ax, a froe, an auger, a plane, broad-ax, hoes, and various other tools.

A fully loaded wagon could weigh between 1,500 and 2,000 pounds without the weight of any family members riding in it. [7] Family members riding in the wagon depended on the weather, the distance, draft power, and if animals such as pigs and milk cows had to be herded. Usually at least one or two family members walked alongside the wagon to herd animals or simply "stretch" their legs.

Oxen often supplied the draft power for pulling the wagon but sometimes variations, by necessity, were used. For example, an ox and milk cow might pull the wagon if one of the oxen died along the way.

Train Travel

The railroad extended to Rock Island, Illinois, just across the Mississippi River from Davenport, Iowa by the late 1850s. Boats ferried pioneers from Rock Island across the Mississippi River into Iowa during the warmer months. People walked across the river on the ice or drove across it in the winter. Settlers walked, bought a team and wagon for transportation, or hired someone, to take them to their destination once they arrived in Iowa.

Ephraim Fairchild and his family moved to Iowa in the mid-1850s, traveling by train from Jersey City, New Jersey to Dunleith, present day East Dubuque, Illinois. Fairchild described the trip as very slow and wrote of missing different train connections because of delays. Ephraim's Uncle Jerry met the family at East Dubuque and took them by horse and wagon to his home. The wagon broke along the way, and the family was delayed another day. Fairchild put his family up at another family's home paying them room and board while the wagon was repaired, a common practice for some pioneers on the trip out or while they were building their new home. Staying in another's home and paying room and board gave the family some comfort and kept them from having to sleep in and under a wagon. Fairchild figured it cost $14.75 for he and his family, five people in all, to travel from East Dubuque to his Uncle's place in Wyoming, Jones County, Iowa. The Fairchild's spent $5.00 for the horses, wagon, and feed; $1.00 for fixing the wagon; and $8.75 for room and board for his family along the way. In addition, Fairchild paid $37.92 to ship his family's possessions from New Jersey to Dubuque Iowa and have them picked up and brought to his farm. [8]

Benjamin F. Gue traveled from Farmington, New York to Iowa in 1852. Gue traveled primarily by train but sometimes had to take a horse and wagon or stagecoach to get to the next rail line. Gue traveled through Ohio, Michigan and Indiana to Chicago. At Chicago he made the last purchases for western outfit, a "Bowie knife, a pocket compass, and a western guide." [9] He traveled by livery team and stagecoach from Aurora, Illinois to Rock Island, Illinois on the shore of the Mississippi River. Gue and his brother crossed the Mississippi River on March 3, 1852 on foot. They reached the river and found people had been crossing all morning on the ice and decided to cross. Travel across the ice was smooth until they reached about halfway, running into piles of ice and open water in spots. Gue writes, "We travelled for some distance without any difficulty until we got out over the current where we found the ice piled up in great ledges wedged in all shapes, some piled ten feet high, some immense cakes standing on the edge with deep chasms between with a swift current of water running at the bottom – we went on this way a long distance, sometimes going a long distance upstream to avoid air holes – sometimes leaping from one huge cake of ice to another slipping and stumbling every minute until it got so bad that it was almost impossible to proceed." [10] They reached smooth ice again and then Iowa which Gue called the "long wished for land of promise." [11] They had been in Iowa for no more than fifteen minutes when they heard a large rumbling noise. The agent at the land office yelled, "the ice is moving." The ice started to break away and rush down river. If Gue and his brother had waited ten minutes more before crossing they may have been caught in the moving ice.

Other Modes of Travel

Many people moved to Iowa indirectly, making several stops before determining to settle in Iowa. Some families moved "west" several times before settling in Iowa. Susan and Jabe Wyatt moved from Virginia to Ohio shortly after their wedding in 1838. Jabe decided after a short while to head farther west. Jabe and Susan moved four more times in five years, living in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri before finally settling in Jasper County, Iowa. [12]

Starting a Farm

People settled in Iowa and started farms because they believed they could improve their economic status. People chose Iowa because land was relatively inexpensive and was fertile. This pioneering experience cost money though.

The average cost of starting a farm between 1850 and 1860 in the Midwest was $1,058 for an eighty-acre farm. [13] Costs in this figure include purchasing land, breaking the land for cultivation, fencing, seed, livestock, provisions, buildings, and other things such as transportation costs to Iowa. Land represented the largest capital expense of farm making. The Homestead Act offering one hundred-sixty free acres did not pass until 1862, long after the majority of Iowa was settled.

Pioneers acquired land in several ways. Purchasing land for cash from the United States government at public auction for $1.25 per acre was one option. Acquiring land from private sales, through land warrants for military service, or by squatting on the land and purchasing it later were other options.

Two of the first tasks in establishing a pioneer farm were building a structure to live in and planting a crop so that the family had food and wouldn't have to spend more money on provisions. Settlers lived in wagons, tents, camped on the ground, paid another family room and board, or lived in lean-tos until they built their house. In central Iowa the majority of pioneers built notched log houses or what we refer to today as cabins. A typical notched log house measured sixteen feet by eighteen feet but sizes varied. Most houses had one main room, which served as living room, bedroom, kitchen, dining room, and general work area. Houses were typically built with a loft that served as attic, children's' bedroom and for the first year or two the barn. [14] Most log houses utilized a fireplace instead of a cook stove until the family could afford to buy a cook stove. The floor could be dirt but was commonly made of puncheons, logs split in half with the rounded side placed down creating a crude wood floor.

Planting usually followed house building. The first four years were usually subsistence farming, farming to raise just enough food for the family, with the goal of eventually raising a surplus to sell and make money. Some settlers plowed ground near the tree line, if they had one, the first year because the ground is easier to plow than the prairie with its deep root system. Breaking the prairie required a special breaking plow and four to six oxen so most settlers had to hire a breaking team to do that for them. The first year's crops were usually corn, potatoes, turnips, etc to get the family through the winter. Eventually farmers would start to grow corn and wheat as principal crops. Farmers sold wheat as a cash crop and fed the corn to the pigs and then sold the pigs for money.

A pioneer to Hardin County, Iowa in 1851 recalled his first tasks upon settling his piece of land. He writes "I came to this county and located in Pleasant township ... with my family ... on the first day of October, 1851." [15] He proceeds to discuss the lateness of the season and how the best grass had died off, but he needed to make hay for his livestock to eat during the winter. He writes "... hence the first thing to do was to save hay, and to live outdoors until the hay was secured." [16]

He cut his hay then proceeded to build his house. Unfortunately the roof didn't get finished before the first snow fall and they ended up with four inches of snow on their beds. Haying and house building proceeded until things were finished. He writes, "After I got our house covered I would haul hay in the daytime, and my wife would stack it, and at night she would get the children to bed in one corner of the house, for at this juncture we called it a house and kept light by putting on the best chips to make light for me to see to hew puncheons, split from basswood logs, for a floor to our house." [17]

Purchasing existing farmsteads provided another way to start a farm. Buying an established or partially improved farm offered the advantage of not having to start from the beginning in regard to housing, breaking land, and building fences. The disadvantage is that the purchase cost was usually higher than if a person bought virgin land and started his own farm.

Benjamin Gue and his brother purchased an established farm on Spring Rock Creek in Scott County, about twenty-five miles from Davenport, Iowa in 1852 for $700.00.[18] For the purchase price they received one hundred-sixty acres of prairie and forty acres of timber, two log houses. Fifty acres of the land was fenced and broke and another twenty acres broke but not fenced. [19] In addition there was one slab stable, one log stable, one log corn crib, one log smokehouse and two log hog pens. [20]

Not all people could afford to purchase land and start their own farm in Iowa. Tenant farmers farmed someone else's land and paid rent to the landowner. Tenant farmers, such as Ephraim Fairchild, worked for others until they saved enough money to purchase their own land and make improvements on it. Tenant farmers did not have to pay for the land they worked, buildings, or improvements but did have to provide their own implements, livestock, seed, and other expenses. It still took money to be a tenant farmer, although not as much as an owner/operator. The average cost for a tenant farm between 1850 and 1860 was $325.00. [21]

Ephraim Fairchild wrote about his tenant house and farm in letters home to his family. He writes, "On the 28th day of March the next Saturday after we arrived here Mr. Oliver Bills the man that I was going to farm for had a raising to put up the house for me to live in and invited Uncle Jerry and the boys and me to come over and help." [22]

Ephraim goes on to write, "Mother wants to know what kind of house we live in. Well I will tell you something about it. It is a log house and quite rough at that but it makes a shelter and does very well for a summer house. The room is not very larg[e] but it does quite well for us for we have but little to put in it but we live in hope of having something more some of these days." [23]

To furnish the house he writes, "I have bought a stove. It is the same fashion of Fathers. I got it in Wyoming [Iowa]. It cost me $24, besides the pipe and the pipe cost me $1.87 cts. I got 2 iron boilers, 1 tin wash boiler, 1 tin tea kettle, 1 skillet, 1 gridiron, 1 tin teapot, and a large griddle. I bought 91 lbs of wheat flour at 20/7 pur hundred, one smoked shoulder at 1/ pur lb, some pickeled (sic) pork at 10cts pur lb, some eggs at 10cts a doz, one bottle of pepper sauce for 25cts, one peck salt at 1/pur bushel, ¼ tea at 75 cts pur lb." [24]

Pioneers used many methods of transportation to bring them to Iowa including wagons, trains, boats, stagecoach, foot or combinations of all of these. People had various methods of starting a farm too. Most settlers were of a middling class since it did take a fair amount of money to start a farm or purchase an existing farm. Tenancy was an option for families of lesser means but it still required money to start. The goal for most of these families was improved economic status through farming in a rich agricultural area. These settlers helped create the leading agricultural state that Iowa is today.

Rick Finch is the former Director of Historical Interpretation at Living History Farms in Des Moines, Iowa. Rick presented this paper at the Association of Historians of Germans from Russia (AHGR) National Conference 2002, Des Moines, Iowa.

Notes

1 U.S., Bureau of Census. Eighth Census 1860, Population. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1864, p.156

2 Kelley, Mary Ellen. "Filling the Prairie with Farmers." *The Des Moines Register*, March 17, 1996

3 Throne, Mildred. "Iowa Farm Letters, 1856 – 1865." *Iowa Journal of History*. January 1960, Vol. 58, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, p. 59

4 Riley, Glenda. *Frontierswomen: The Iowa Experience*. Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1981, p.14

5 Ibid. p.15

6 Ibid. pp. 15 - 16

7 Ibid. p. 16

8 Throne, Mildred, Editor. "Iowa Farm Letters 1856-1865", *Iowa Journal of History*, Vol. 58, January 1960, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, p.41

9 Ross, Earle, D. Editor. *Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa 1847-1856*. Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1962, p.94

10 Ibid. p.97

11 Ibid. p.97

12 Schweider, Dorothy. *Iowa the Middle Land*. Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1996, p.40

13 Atack, Jeremy and Bateman, Fred. *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North*. Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1987, p.132. The costs they give for Iowa were calculated and averaged to reach this number. Prices varied before and after 1850 and between states.

14 Barns in the settlement period did not house livestock since livestock were free ranged. Instead the barn would house tools and maybe some crops such as wheat. Barns tended to be smaller than we associate with today and were usually one of the last major structures to be built on the farm.

15 Moir, William J. Editor. *The Past and Present of Hardin County Iowa*. B.F. Bowen & Co., Indianapolis, 1911, p. 38.

16 Ibid. p.38

17 Ibid. p.38

18 Ross, p.100

29 Ibid. p.100

20 Ibid. p.100

21 Atack, p.133

22 Throne, Mildred, p. 40

23 Ibid. p. 45

24 Ibid. p. 41

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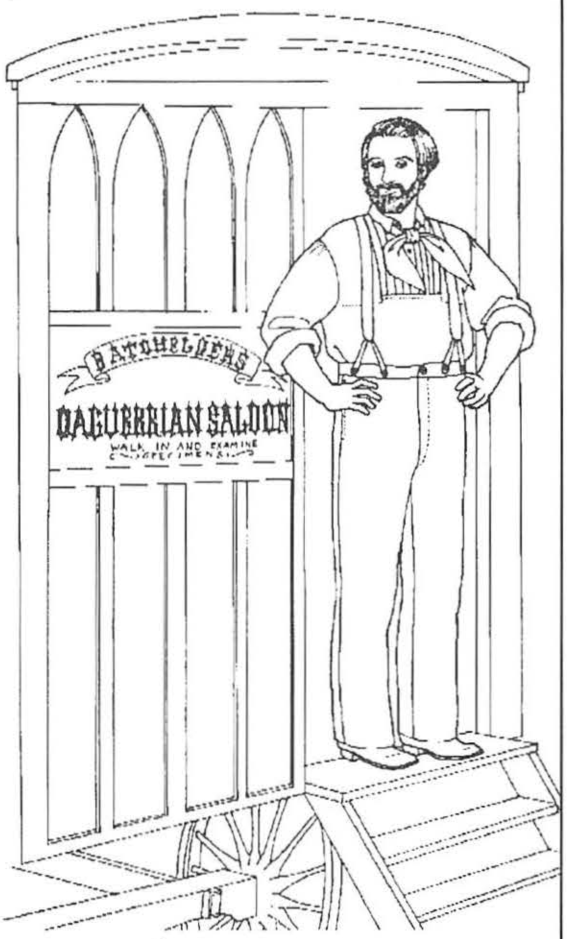

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NEWS RELEASE

Hundreds of Traditional Foods Are At Risk:
First Ever Redlist of Endangered American Plant and Animal Foods Released For the Harvest/Holiday Season

More than 700 uniquely North American plant and animal foods are at risk of extinction. In an unprecedented effort to rescue these foods, seven prominent organizations have formed RAFT, a coalition of organizations involved with sustainable agriculture, biodiversity conservation, and people who just love to eat. The RAFT coalition is launching its national campaign with a book, Renewing America's Food Traditions (RAFT), to be released for the harvest and holiday season. Including the first Redlist of America's Endangered Foods, this book also highlights the stories of twenty authentic American foods.

"As we bring in our harvests and prepare for the winter holidays, it is fitting to recognize the diversity of foods lost from our holiday tables which could be returned if consumers, chefs, conservationists, and producers begin to more effectively collaborate with one another," said Dr. Gary Nabhan, Director of the Center for Sustainable Environments (CSE). Nabhan facilitates the coalition comprised of American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, Chefs Collaborative, Cultural Conservancy, Native Seed/SEARCH, Slow Food USA, Seed Savers Exchange, and Northern Arizona University's CSE.

The Redlist will be available online as of October 22nd - a working list of traditional foods including fish and shellfish (81) native wild food plants (26), rare livestock and poultry breeds (51), heirloom vegetables (234), fruits and berries (248), grains and nuts (55). The Redlist was complied as a result of research and recommendations from dozens of food historians, farmers, plant explorers, genetic conservationists, and agricultural activists. These foods have declined as their wild habitats or agricultural landscapes have been degraded and destroyed. Hybrids and GMOs have usurped their markets, while some ethnic communities have lost traditional ecological and culinary knowledge about their harvesting and preparation.

The hot Datil pepper of Minorcan immigrants to Florida, the oily Eulachon smelt that provided the foundation of Northwest trade routes, and the delicious Creole cream cheese of Louisiana - these are just some of the hidden stories highlighted in the RAFT book. The book details ten success stories of efforts to recover such traditional foods throughout every region of the continent, from Alaska to Florida; and ten profiles of America's most endangered foods, documenting the cultural and culinary traditions put at risk when these foods are over-harvested or neglected.

Ultimately, RAFT strives to put these foods back on our tables as it assists family farmers, fisherman, foragers, and ranchers of both Native American and immigrant cultures in reviving the production and use of these foods to benefit their own communities. RAFT also assists with marketing and distribution strategies for those ethnic communities that wish to sell their surplus to the wider American public.

"The peoples of the Americas were diverse in their use of locally available ingredients," notes Fernando Divina, award-winning chef, RAFT advisor, and co-author of Foods of the Americas. "A resurgence of demand for heirloom varieties of produce may engender new, more effective means of distribution."

If you are interested in receiving the RAFT book please contact Gary Nabhan, PhD., or Ashley Rood at the address at the top of this correspondence. For more information on the rare livestock and poultry breeds on the Redlist, contact the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy at: ALBC, PO Box 477, Pittsboro, NC 27312, (919) 542-5704, by email at albc@albc-usa.org, or visit us on the web at www.albc-usa.org.

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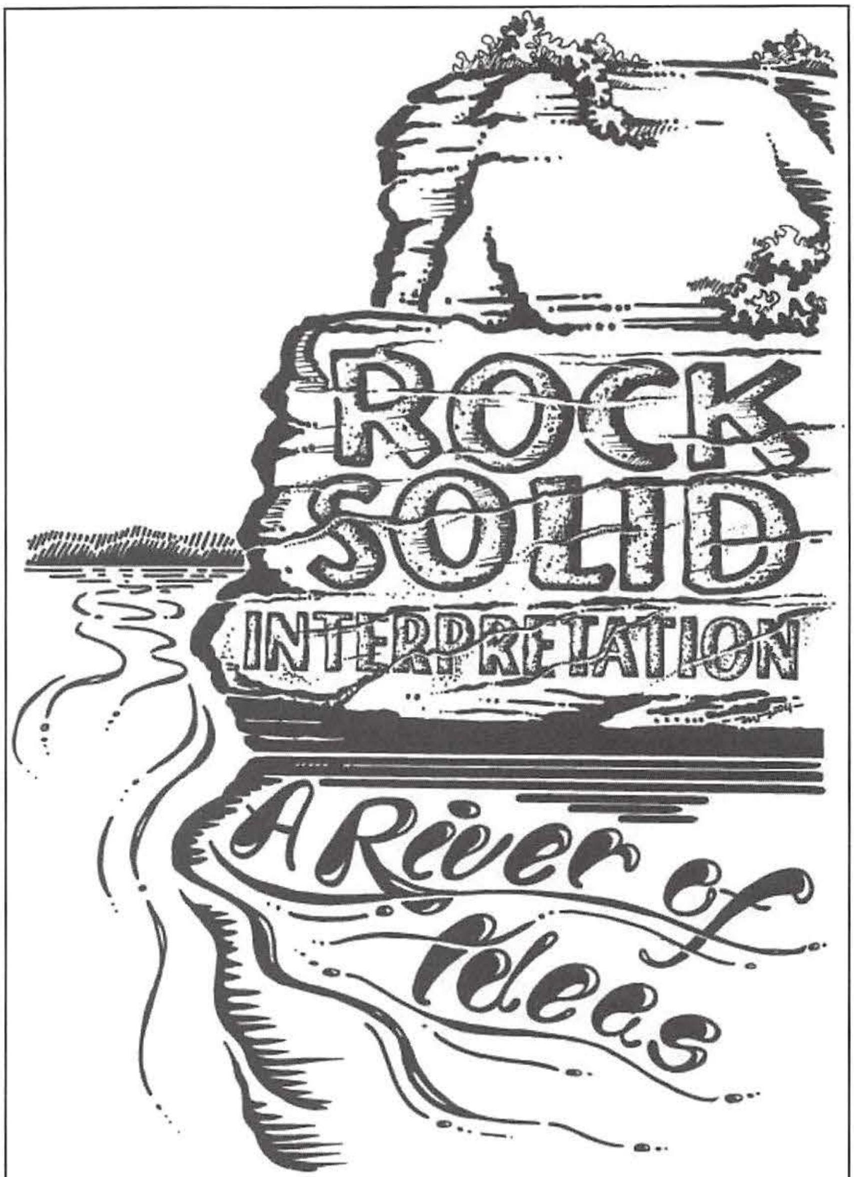

NAI Region V Workshop

Starved Rock State Park
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The National Association for Interpretation Region V Workshop in 2005 will be held at the historic Starved Rock State Park Lodge & Conference Center, and the state-of-the-art Starved Rock Visitors' Center along the majestic bluffs of the Illinois River. Come share your interpretive expertise with your colleagues at the crown jewel of the Illinois state park system. For additional information, please contact Registration Chair, Trish Sebastian at (815) 479-5766 or tsebastian@mccdistrict.org or go to: www.nairegions.org/5/Illinois2005.htm

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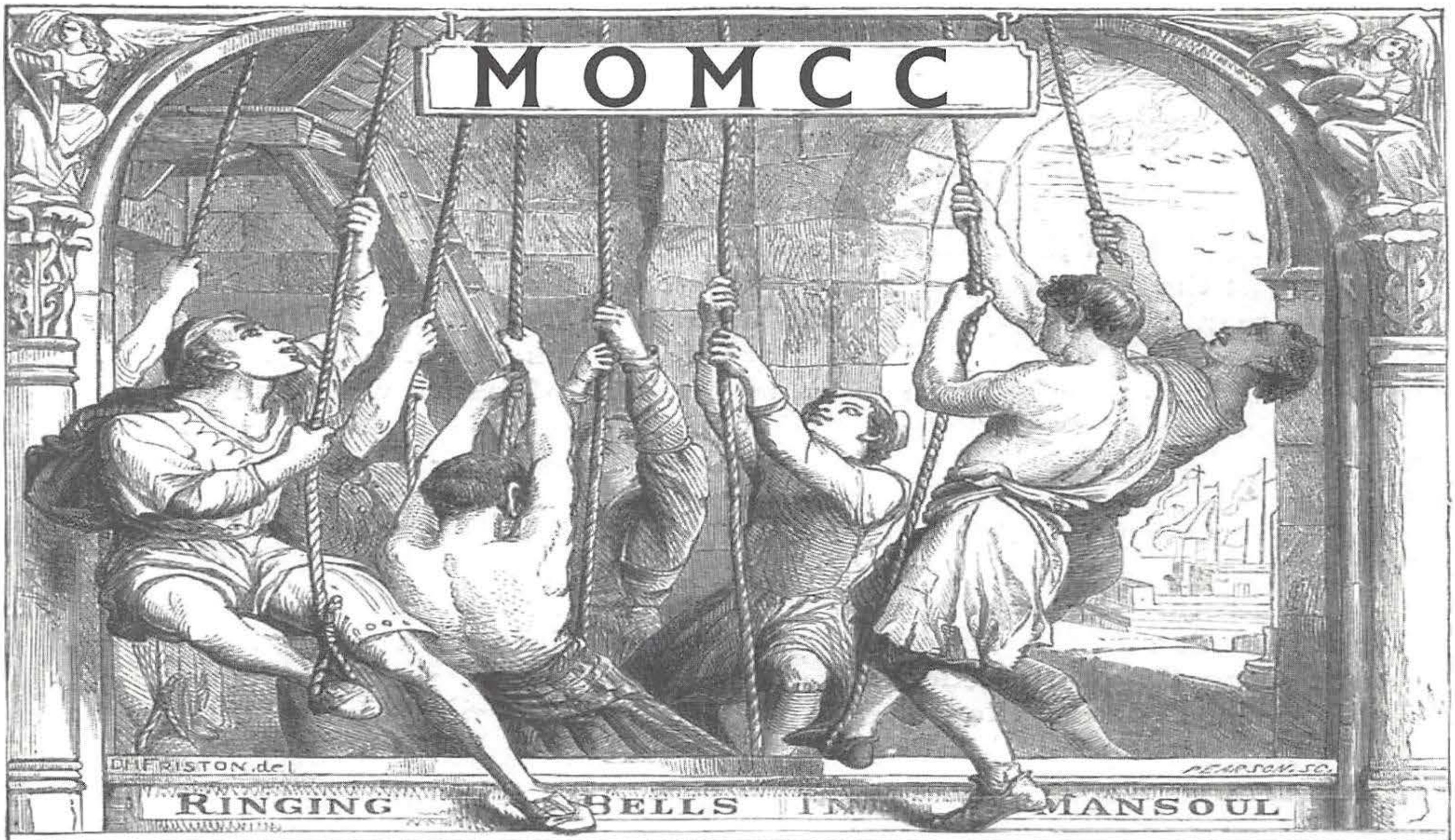

The purpose of MOMCC is to "further the interchange of materials, information, ideas and consideration of professional issues within the open-air interactive and historical museum professions." Submissions regarding any topic of relevance to this purpose are welcome and needed. This is your magazine! Length is not an issue: one page and even one-column articles are needed as much as longer submissions.

If possible, submissions should be made on computer disk in an IBM compatible format, Microsoft Word and Word Perfect are the editor's choices for submissions. Macintosh format is acceptable but please allow extra time for conversion. Contact the editors before submitting a final copy of extensive manuscripts for the most current computer guidelines.

At least one hard copy of the article must be submitted. Hard copies should be double-spaced. A title page should accompany the hard copy, and must include the full name of the author(s), their professional affiliations(s), and title(s). Please include a brief biographical paragraph from each writer for an author's note at the end of the article. Also include a complete address, telephone number(s), and email if available of a contact person.

Photographs and illustrations are welcome and encouraged. Glossy black and white photographs reproduce with the best quality, but any clear photograph, color or black and white, is usually suitable. Suggested captions and credit lines must be included with the photographs.

Clear, high quality copies of diagrams, drawings, and other illustrations may also accompany the article. As with photographs, suggested captions, credit lines, and other documentation must accompany the illustration.

Photographs and illustrations should be numbered on the back to correspond with their matching numbered captions. Fasten the captions to the photograph or illustration to avoid mix-ups.

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Books, journals, bulletins, and other sources used in the creation of an article must be properly referenced. The editors recommend following the guidelines set forth by *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* by Kate Turabian, but any professional citation method is acceptable as long as it is correctly executed and consistently used throughout the submission.

The writing style should be clear and direct. Remember that the articles in the Magazine are seen by readers of many different professional backgrounds. Please double check the grammar, spelling, and punctuation before sending in submissions. Other than simple corrections or other minor changes, the author(s) will be asked to make any changes deemed necessary.

MOMCC does not pay authors for accepted submissions. All accepted articles are considered contributions to MOMCC.

The editorial staff can make no specific guarantee as to when an article chosen for publication will appear in print.

For the return of submitted materials, please include a first class SASE. Contact the Editor-in-Chief with any questions regarding proposed topics or content. All submissions to be considered for articles should be submitted to the following address:

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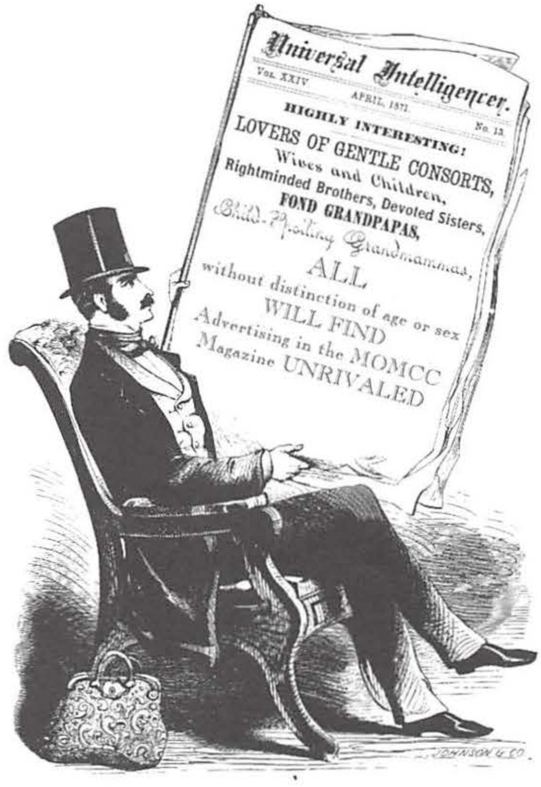
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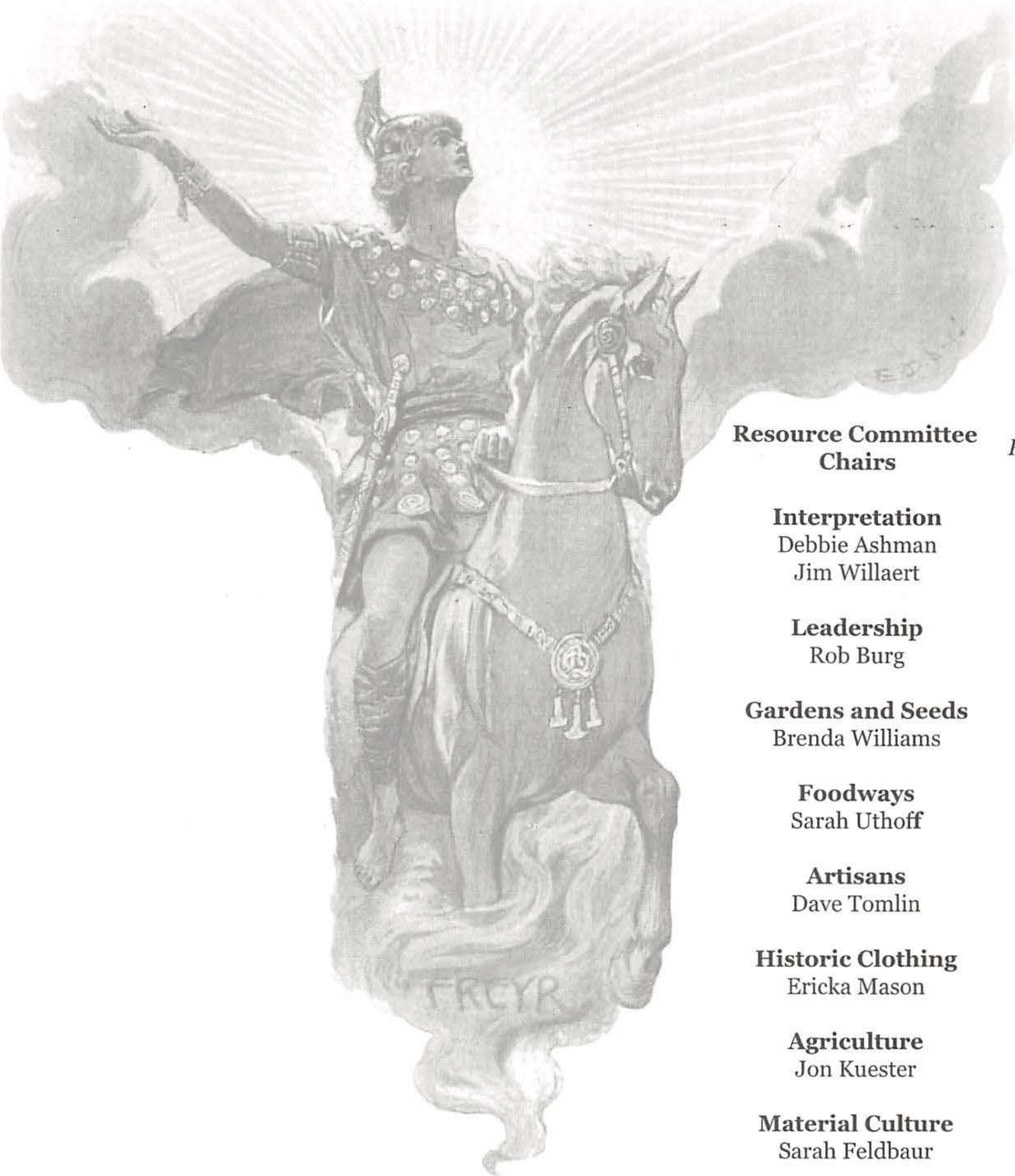

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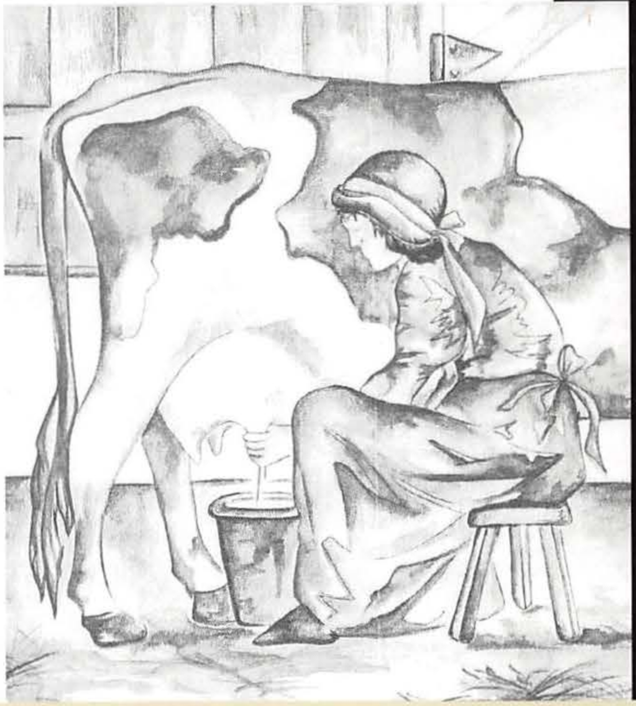

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